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Qadi an-Nu'man
The Fatimid Jurist and Author

BY ASAF A. A. FYZEE

I. INTRODUCTORY: SOURCES
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I. INTRODUCTORY: SOURCES

ANY complete biography of Qāḍī an-Nu'mān, the most illustrious of Ismā'īlī jurists, must necessarily be based on two kinds of sources, *internal* and *external*. He was a very prolific author, and although not all his works which were extant some 400 years ago have come down to us, a good many of his *akhbār* and *fiqh* works are still preserved. It would be necessary to go through all of these and collect all autobiographical information before the definitive biography of the Qāḍī can be attempted. Even purely *fiqh* works like the *Mukhtaṣaru'l-Āthār* contain occasional references to contemporary events. The brief biography given below does not profess to be exhaustive; it is based in the main on three external sources, which seem to contain all that was definitely known of this great lawyer, the founder and the greatest exponent of Ismā'īlī jurisprudence. The difficulty of writing on Ismā'īlī subjects is well known; it is next to impossible to expect any co-operation from the sectarians themselves. I am trying, however, to obtain information from different sources, and if ever I am able to study all

the works extant of the Qāḍī, a more comprehensive biography may be attempted.

The three sources are Ibn Khallikān's *Biographical Dictionary*; Ibn Ḥajar's *Raf'u'l-Iṣr*; and volumes v and vi of Saiyidnā 'Imādu'd-dīn Idrīs b. Ḥasan's *'Uyūnu'l-Akhbār*. Ibn Khallikān [1] is the earliest in point of time, and too well known to need any introductory remarks. He has a long and interesting account of the *Qāḍī* Abū Ḥanīfa—to distinguish him from the *Imām* Abū Ḥanīfa—an-Nu'mān ibn Muḥammad. His comparatively early age must, however, be offset by his being a Sunnite and by his anti-Fatimid prejudices, which are well known. His account, analysed carefully, does not give many biographical details, as he is content to cite opinions showing the extraordinary merits of the man. In respect of the mention of his works, it is very meagre; for instance, Saiyidnā Idrīs, coming two centuries later, mentions over forty works of our author, while Ibn Khallikān mentions only six, and some of the titles are quite erroneous. Moreover, the *Da'ā'imu'l-Islām*, Qāḍī an-Nu'mān's greatest work, is not mentioned.

Ibn Ḥajar,[2] coming two centuries later, is even more meagre than Ibn Khallikān. His account in the *Raf'u'l-Iṣr* of the Qāḍī and his family was edited and translated by R. Gottheil in a long and learned article entitled "A Distinguished Family of Fatimide Cadis (al-Nu'mān) in the Tenth Century" (*Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 1907, vol. xxvii, pp. 217–297). This, as far as I am aware, is the only account of this distinguished *qāḍī* and his family by any European scholar. It contains some errors, but on the whole is very useful. In 1912 Rhuvon Guest in editing the *Kitābu'l-Wulāt wa Kitābu'l-Quḍāt* of al-Kindī (*Governors and Judges of Egypt*, Gibb Memorial Series, vol. xix), edited

[1] Born 608/1211; died 681/1282. See Brockelmann in *EI*. ii, 397. The text of Ibn Khallikān is unfortunately not available to me; I have used and referred to de Slane's translation throughout, vol. iii, 565 et seq.

[2] Born 773/1372; died 852/1449. *EI*. ii, 379.

also as appendix a certain number of biographies from different sources and re-edited the biographies of Qāḍī an-Nu'mān and his illustrious sons from Ibn Ḥajar's *Raf'u'l-Iṣr* and the *Talkhīṣ* of his grandson, Jamālu'd-dīn Yūsuf b. Shāhīn. It is very unfortunate that al-Kindī, who was practically a contemporary of the Qāḍī (died 350/961),[1] does not mention him; nor have any of the earlier accounts mentioned by Ibn Khallikān come down to us.[2] On comparing the texts of Gottheil,[3] based on the Paris MS. 2149, and that of Guest,[4] based on a comparison of the Paris MS. 2149 with No. 5893, and some British Museum MSS.,[5] it will be found that Guest's text is far more correct and satisfactory. Ibn Ḥajar's account is also meagre; its meagreness can be judged from the fact that he does not mention any of our author's works.

Both these authors being Sunnite, it is hardly to be expected that they could be in possession of all the relevant facts in the life of one of the foremost of Ismā'īlī authors. For this purpose the most valuable source of information that is still happily preserved is the account of the Qāḍī in the sixth volume of the *'Uyūnu'l-Akhbār wa Funūnu'l-Āthār* by the 19th *dā'ī* of the Yemen, Saiyidnā 'Imādu'd-dīn Idrīs b. Ḥasan (died, Yemen, 872/1468), who was practically a contemporary of Ibn Ḥajar. The *'Uyūn* is a voluminous work on the history of Ismailism in seven volumes preserved in its entirety by the Western Ismā'īlīs in India. The first volume deals with the life of the Prophet; vols. ii and iii with the life of 'Alī; vol. iv with the Imāms from Ḥasan to Mahdī; vol. v with the reigns of the first three Fatimid Caliphs, Mahdī, Qā'im, and Manṣūr; vol. vi with Mu'izz (4th Caliph) down to the first half of the reign of Mustanṣir (8th Caliph); and the seventh and last volume deals with the latter half of

[1] *Kitābu'l-Wulāt*, Introduction, 7.
[2] See Gottheil's remarks on the historians of *qāḍīs*, op. cit., 224 et seq.
[3] *JAOS*. xxvii, 238.
[4] *Kitābu'l-Wulāt*, 586–7.
[5] *Kitābu'l-Wulāt*, Introduction, 43.

Mustanṣir's reign, the end of the Fatimid Caliphate, and the establishment of the Yemenite Da'wat. In the sixth volume, dealing with the life and times of the Caliph Mu'izz, Saiyidnā Idris gives a very long and the most authoritative account extant of Qāḍī an-Nu'mān's life and works.[1] The *'Uyūnu'l-Akhbār* is a very valuable source for the study of Fatimid history, and so far it has never been edited, translated, or studied in its entirety by any European scholar.[2] My account is primarily based on it and on some portions of the fifth volume; and as the *'Uyūn* itself cites Qāḍī an-Nu'mān verbatim, we seem to be on safe ground. The account shows how closely the Qāḍī was associated with the first four Fatimid Caliphs, Mahdi, Qā'im, Manṣūr, and Mu'izz; how gradually he rose to power and reached his zenith in the time of Mu'izz, and what a prolific author he was. The *'Uyūn* mentions forty-two of his works and two more are mentioned in the Ismā'ili bibliography, the *Fihristu'l-Majdū'*.[3]

[1] Folios 33-41. The references are to a copy of the sixth volume of the *'Uyūn* recently transcribed, dated Rajab, 1351/November, 1932, and consisting of 320 folios.

[2] This work has recently been mentioned by W. Ivanow in his paper on "An Ismaili Interpretation of *Gulshan-i-Rāz*", *JBBRAS.* (1932), 69, 72, by Dr. Hamdānī in his papers on the "History of the Ismā'īlī Da'wat and its Literature", *JRAS.* (1932), 126, and on "The Life and Times of Queen Saiyida Arwā, the Sulaiḥid of Yemen", *JRCAS.* (1931), xviii, 505, 508, 508 sqq., and 514 sqq.; and by Dr. Paul Kraus in "Hebräische und syrische Zitate in ismā'ilitischen Schriften", *Der Islam*, xix, Heft 4, 243, 244. Dr. Ḥusain Hamdānī has very kindly drawn my attention to the fact that Ahmad Zaki Pasha, in his foreword to the recent edition of the *Rasā'il Ikhwāni'ṣ-Ṣafā'* (Cairo, 1928, p. 36), doubts the very existence of the *'Uyūn* and its author; and that the *'Uyūn* is also mentioned in a short note in the Bombay edition of the *Rasā'il* (A.H. 1306), iv, 409, by Shaikh Muḥammad 'Alī Rāmpūrī. See also W. Ivanow, *Guide to Ismaili Literature*, No. 258, p. 62.

[3] Nos. 14 and 44 in the list given below. This *Fihrist* seems to be the work of one Ismā'īl al-Majdū' who lived in central India during A.H. 1150-1168 (about two hundred years ago) and who was a very learned scholar. He later pretended to be the *ḥujjat* of the occult Imām and thereupon came into the disfavour of the *dā'ī* of the time. It seems that it was not he whose nose was cut, but it was his son, Hibatu'l-lāh, who paid for the sins of his father; but curiously enough the appellation *majdū'* has stuck to the father. W. Ivanow, *Guide to Ismaili Literature*, Preface and No. 336, 73

Of these twenty-two are still preserved (eighteen completely and four partially) by the Western Ismā'īlīs of India. And it can hardly be doubted that in the Yemen some of his works considered as lost by us are still preserved. Some works, not really his, are occasionally ascribed to him, for instance, *Kitāb Rāḥat wa't-Tasallī*, *Taqwīmu'l-Aḥkām*, and others.[1]

In addition to the various sources mentioned above, the Qāḍī is also mentioned and dealt with by some Ithnā 'Asharī authorities, and accounts of him will be found in the *Mustadrak* (iii, 313) and *Rauḍātu'l-Jannāt* (658–9). The account in the *Mustadrak* is most important, as it contains not merely full particulars of what was known about him, but also a discussion of a number of legal views held by Qāḍī an-Nu'mān. The author of the *Mustadrak* explains, for instance, why it was that the Qāḍī differed in many respects from the Shī'ites (Twelvers) and how it is erroneous to think that the *Da'ā'im* was written by the Shaikh Ṣadūq al-Qummī. Qāḍī an-Nu'mān is also mentioned in the following works: *EI*. iv, 355 (sub "Shī'a" by Strothmann); *EI*. i, 739 (sub "Bohoras"); Brockelmann, *Arab. Lit.*, i, 187–8; and Ivanow, *Guide to Ismaili Lit.*, 37–40.

II. Life

Name.—The *Qāḍī*[2] Abū Ḥanīfa[3] an-Nu'mān b. Abī 'Abdi'l-lāh Muḥammad b. Manṣūr b. Aḥmad b. Ḥaiyūn[4] at-Tamīmī.[5]

[1] See the section "Apocrypha" in the list below.

[2] To distinguish him from the "*Imam*" Abū Ḥanīfa, for whose account see Ibn Khallikān, iii, 555. Ismā'īlīs almost invariably call him "Saiyidnā'l-Qāḍī'n-Nu'mān", and never by the designation Abū Ḥanīfa. He is also referred to as سيدنا الاوحد and القاضى الاجل.

[3] Generally designated as "the Abū Ḥanīfa of the Shī'ites". Strothmann, *EI*. iv, 355, sub "Shī'a", evidently following *Rauḍātu'l-Jannāt* of Md. Bāqir al-Khwānsārī (Tehran, 1306), p. 658. Massignon is wrong in giving the *kunya* of Nu'mān's father as "Abū Ḥanīfa"; he

His pedigree is not a matter of doubt, for all accounts agree concerning it. The pedigree given in the *'Uyūn*, vol. vi, agrees with that given by Gottheil in the form of a genealogical tree on p. 238 of his article.

Birth.—The exact date of Nu'mān's birth is nowhere mentioned in the authorities consulted by me. Gottheil (p. 227) says: "The father of al-Nu'mān, Abū Ḥanīfa, was himself a well-known littérateur, who had died at the advanced age of 104." No authority is cited for this. This is a very curious misstatement: for the father of Nu'mān may have died at the advanced age of 104, but his *kunya* could not be Abū Ḥanīfa, which undoubtedly was that of his son Nu'mān. We shall presently see how this confusion has arisen. But this statement has been, it seems to me, the cause of another error. Qāḍī an-Nu'mān died in 363. Some scholars think that the above remark applies to him and mention the date of his birth as 259. Massignon, for instance, following Gottheil, states that Nu'mān was born in 259 and died in 363 at the advanced age of 104.[1]

Gottheil's error seems to be based on a sentence from Ibn Khallikān (trans. De Slane, iii, 566, last five lines):

has evidently been misled by the error of Gottheil. L. Massignon, "Esquisse d'une Bibliographie Qarmate" in *'Ajabnāma (A Volume of Oriental Studies presented to Edward G. Browne on his 60th Birthday)*, 332.

[2] "Ḥaiyūn" is correct, as we read in the *Kitābu'l-Wulāt*, 596, in the notice of Qāḍī Ḥusain b. 'Alī b. Nu'mān: حَيُّون بمهملة وياء آخر الحروف مشددة مضمومة وآخره نون. Saiyidnā Idrīs and other Ismā'īlī authors have generally حيون. So also Gottheil, op. cit., 238; and on p. 269 (1), he corrects Brockelmann, who has "Ḥaiyān". *Mus.* iii, 313, has حيوان and *Rawḍātu'l-Jannāt*, 658₁₂, has حيوان. Occasionally one also comes across the erroneous حيان.

[3] *'Uyūn*, vi, folio 177. The usual *nisbas* are "al-Ismā'īlī" and "al-Maghribī" (*JRAS*, xxvii, 238; *Kitābu'l-Wulāt*, 586), while his sons are called "al-Qairawānī", Gottheil, op. cit., 240, 243. I have, however, given him only the *nisba* according to the Ismā'īlī tradition.

[4] *'Ajabnāma*, 332, No. 16. He further mentions that Abū Ḥanīfa was the *kunya* of Muhammad, father of Nu'mān.

" Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad, Abū Ḥanīfa's father, lived to an advanced age. When four years old he could recite many curious pieces which he had learnt by heart. He died in the month of Rajab, 351 (August, A.D. 962) aged one hundred and four years, and was buried near Bāb Salm, one of the gates of Ḳairawān. The funeral service was said over him by his son." [1] This passage clearly shows that (1) Ibn Khallikān is speaking of Nu'mān's father Muḥammad who died at the age of 104, and (2) the *kunya* of Muḥammad was Abū 'Abdi'l-lāh, while that of his son was Abū Ḥanīfa.

All that can be said at present with regard to the birth of the Qāḍī is that no known authority mentions it, and that Gottheil's slip has misled certain scholars.

Now let us see whether any internal evidence can be found to indicate the approximate date of his birth. Qāḍī an-Nu'mān himself says in his *al-Majālis wa'l-Musāyarāt* [2] that he served Mahdī for the last nine years, some months and some days of his life. Mahdī died in 322/933, and therefore the Qāḍī served him from 313/920 onwards. Assuming that Nu'mān was about 20 years old at that time, he may have been born *circa* 293. This is quite in consonance with his death in A.H. 363 at the psalmist's age of " three score and ten ". Unless definite authority to the contrary can be found, it is safe to ascribe his birth to the last decade of the third century of the Hijra, he himself being a typical product of the fourth.

DEATH.—There is very little uncertainty as regards the date of his death. Ibn Khallikān mentions two dates :

[1] Incidentally this also shows that at the time of his father's death in 351, Nu'mān held an important position in life. This is in complete accord with his having been appointed *qāḍī* in the time of Manṣūr, as we shall shortly see.

[2] Vol: i, folio 33. The references are to a recent copy transcribed in 1351/1932. (Vol. i consists of 189, and vol. ii of 337 folios.) Saiyidnā Idrīs cites this passage verbatim in *'Uyūn*, v, folio 396. The references to the fifth volume of the *'Uyūn* are to a copy recently transcribed in 1351/1933 and consisting of 401 folios.

according to Ibn Zūlāq, Nu'mān died on the last day (the 29th) of Jumādā II, 363/Friday, 27th March, 974; but al-Farghānī in his history of the Qā'id Jawhar says that he died on the first of Rajab, 363/Saturday, 28th March, 974, and that the Caliph-Imām Mu'izz led the funeral prayer. Ibn Khallikān mentions "Friday night" as the time, and it is quite probable that some confusion, due to the Muslim fashion of reckoning the day, may have resulted. The MSS. of Ibn Ḥajar do not give the exact date, but Gottheil [1] accepts the first date given by Ibn Khallikān. Saiyidnā Idrīs (*'Uyūn*, vi, folio 177) mentions that he died at Cairo on the last day of Jumādā II, 363, Friday, 27th March, 974; and the Ithnā 'Asharī sources such as *Rauḍātu'l-Jannāt* and the *Mustadrak* accept this date.

MADHHAB. It is interesting to observe that according to most writers the Qāḍī was at first a Mālikī and later adopted the Ismā'īlī faith.[2] Ibn Ḥajar is silent on the point, and merely calls him "al-Ismā'īlī". Gottheil, however, points out that some authorities like Abū'l-Maḥāsin say that he was at first a Ḥanafī.[3] The Ithnā 'Asharī sources sometimes imply that he was first a Mālikī, then he became an Imāmī (Twelver), and later adopted the Ismā'īlī faith.[4] The fact of his never citing any Imāms later than Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiq is freely discussed, and fear and *taqīya* (permissible dissimulation) are also attributed to him.

The *'Uyūn* does not discuss the question of his *madhhab*, for according to the Ismā'īlīs the Qāḍī was a pillar of their faith and the founder of their legal system. It seems probable that as he entered the service of Mahdī in his early life, and successively served four Fatimid Caliphs, he was an Ismā'īlī from the very beginning, or at any rate adopted that religion from his early days. As his sons are given

[1] Op. cit., 228.
[2] Ibn Khallikān, *Rauḍātu'l-Jannāt*, *Mustadrak*, and others.
[3] Op. cit., 227, n. 3.
[4] *Mustadrak*, iii, 313 et seq.

the *nisba* of "al-Qairawānī" by Ibn Ḥajar, it is quite likely that his family originally came from Qairawān and was of the Mālikī persuasion. And the differing accounts of his being a Mālikī, Ḥanafī, Ithnà 'Asharī, and Ismā'īlī may be due to his practice of *taqīya* in the early days of the Fatimid Caliphate, or misapprehension in the minds of others. How deep this misapprehension was amongst the Ithnà 'Asharīs is shown by the fact that the *Da'ā'im* was by some ascribed to the Imāmī doctor, Shaikh Ṣadūq Ibn Bābūya al-Qummī,[1] and it was thought necessary formally to refute that view.

LIFE.—Qāḍī an-Nu'mān himself relates[2] that he served the first Fatimid Caliph al-Mahdī bi'l-lāh before his death (A.H. 322) for nine years, some months and some days; that is, from 313/920, and thereafter he served Qā'im (Second Fatimid Caliph) for the whole of his life. Both of them used to be very kind to him. He used to serve Manṣūr (Third Fatimid Caliph) even before he succeeded to the Caliphate, for some time in the reign of Mahdī and throughout the reign of Qā'im. Manṣūr, too, was very good to him. During this time his chief duty was the collection, preservation, and copying of books.

Just prior to Qā'im's death in 335/946, and prior to Manṣūr's reign, he was appointed a *qāḍī*, first at Tripoli and later at Manṣūriya.[3] As he was the first of Manṣūr's *qāḍīs*, the Caliph greatly increased his honour and rank, and Nu'mān, too, was so greatly devoted to him that he wished to die in his lifetime.

[1] Ibid.

[2] See footnote 2 to p. 7 above.

[3] *'Uyūn*, v, folio 378. The name given to Sabra, a suburb of Qairawān, by Manṣūr, who rebuilt it. It was Mu'izz's capital before he came to Egypt. Ibn Khal., iii, 381, notes 1 and 2. It may here be added that "Mahdīya" was the name given to a seaport town lying to the south of Tunis founded by Mahdī in 303 (Ibn Khal., i, 231), and Mu'izz called the new capital he built near old Cairo (Miṣr) for his own residence by his own name, "Mu'izzīya" (Ibn Khal., iii, 380).

Qāḍī an-Nu'mān describes his first meeting with Mu'izz in very graphic terms.[1] He seems to have been greatly impressed by the Imām's appearance. He says that he was struck by "the refulgence of the *imāmat* from his countenance". He goes on to say that afterwards he came to be on very familiar terms both with Manṣūr and with Mu'izz, and became their confidant.

Manṣūr had ordered him to sit as *qāḍī* within the threshold of his own palace.[2] But Mu'izz finding that it was an inaccessible place for the poor and the sick and the women, who were frightened to come within the precincts of the palace, ordered a new building to be built, where he was finally accommodated.

When Mu'izz came from the north he brought with him an-Nu'mān as his own *qāḍī*. Mu'izz set out from Manṣūriya on 21st Shawwāl, 361/5th August, 972, and reached Alexandria on 23rd Sha'bān, 362/29th May, 973, where Abū Ṭāhir, the *qāḍī* of Miṣr (Old Cairo), came to receive him. On 2nd Ramaḍān, 362/6th June, 973, he reached Mina, the wharf of Miṣr, opposite Giza, where he was received by the Qā'id Jawhar. Mu'izz reached al-Qāhira (New Cairo), without entering Miṣr, on the 5th, or according to some, the 7th of Ramaḍān, 362/the 9th or 11th June, 973.[3]

Now when Mu'izz entered Cairo and made that his home and remained there, he allowed Qāḍī Abū Ṭāhir Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. 'Abdi'l-lāh to remain as *qāḍī* of Cairo,[4] probably in deference to the wishes of the Qā'id Jawhar. He did not supersede him by appointing Nu'mān, who had come with him as the *qāḍī* of the army,[5] in his place. Abū Ṭāhir, however, always consulted Nu'mān and asked him to revise his judgments. Thus according to the Ismailitic tradition,

[1] His words are cited verbatim in *'Uyūn*, v, folios 378–379.
[2] *'Uyūn*, v, folio 379.
[3] See Ibn Khallikān's account of Mu'izz, iii, 377 sqq.
[4] *'Uyūn*, vi, folio 188.
[5] Gottheil, op. cit., 269.

although Nu'mān was not formally appointed to a higher official position, his real rank, as a judicial officer, was higher than that of Abū Ṭāhir.

At another place in the sixth volume of the *'Uyūnu'l-Akhbār* it is related that Abū Ṭāhir remained *qāḍī* of Miṣr throughout the reign of Mu'izz, under the general supervision of Qāḍī an-Nu'mān. This continued only for a short time, for Nu'mān died in the following year 363/974, and then the affairs passed into the hands of Abū Ṭāhir and 'Alī b. Nu'mān, who had acquired from his father much of what he had derived from the Pure Imāms, who in turn derived it from the Prophet. It is well to remember here that Mu'izz and Qāḍī an-Nu'mān were practically contemporaries, the Caliph dying two years later than his *qāḍī* in 365/976.

After Nu'mān's death Abū Ṭāhir used to refer to 'Alī b. Nu'mān, just as he used to refer to Nu'mān in his lifetime, and used to have his judgments revised accordingly. This continued till the end of Mu'izz's reign (365/976) and the beginning of the reign of al-'Azīz bi'l-lāh.

Thereafter, when Abū Ṭāhir became old and decrepit, and was unable to carry on the duties of Chief Qāḍī, he rode to 'Azīz and wished to resign from his post, hoping that someone from amongst his sons would be chosen for the post. 'Azīz accepted the resignation, but gave the position of Chief Qāḍī and rank in the Da'wat and in the teaching of the sciences and philosophy to Qāḍī 'Alī b. Nu'mān, just as in the time of Mu'izz that position used to be held by 'Alī's father, Nu'mān. It is further related in the *'Uyūn* (vi, folio 188 sqq.) that when 'Alī took over charge, religion was duly served, justice became widespread in all quarters and injustice disappeared totally. People no longer followed *ra'y* (opinion) or *qiyās* (deduction), but they adhered to the injunctions of the *Qur'ān* and the practice of the progeny of the Prophet, the Imāms of his House, as related by the most trustworthy authorities. 'Alī closely followed the system of law propounded by his father.

This account confirms the view that although outwardly Abū Ṭāhir continued to act even in the time of Mu'izz, the real power as chief judge was in the hands of Nu'mān. This state of affairs is quite in consonance with the general tendency of the Ismā'īlīs, who make a great distinction in the *ẓāhir* and *bāṭin* ranks.

CHARACTER.—The *'Uyūn* (vol. vi), describing the personality of the Qāḍī, says that Qāḍī an-Nu'mān held a most respected and honoured position with the Imāms who were contemporary with him. How he served Mahdī, Qā'im, and Manṣūr has been mentioned. His position went on increasing in the reign of each successive Imām, the zenith being reached in the time of Mu'izz, when he became "high in rank, great in fame, well-established in position, and near to his heart in affection". Mu'izz continually made mention of him and of his excellence, and made him Qāḍī'l-Quḍāt,[1] Chief Justice, and added to it a high rank in the Da'wat. His regard for the Qāḍī may further be judged from the fact that he himself led the funeral prayer of Nu'mān.[2] Thus, according to Saiyidnā Idris, not only was he a great lawyer, but a pillar of the Ismā'īlī religion. The *'Uyūn* does not mention his exact rank, but he is generally supposed to have attained the rank of *ḥujjat* in the hierarchy of the Ismā'īlī Da'wat. Speaking judicially, Qāḍī an-Nu'mān's orders modified and went further than the orders of *any* officer: moreover, Mu'izz commanded him to read the books of the Imāms, his ancestors, and to publish the sciences and the philosophy of the Da'wat.

Saiyidnā Idris further relates[3] that Qāḍī an-Nu'mān was

[1] *'Uyūn*, vi, folio 30. This is a curious statement and inconsistent with the accounts of other authorities, and even with the general account of his life given by Saiyidnā Idris. It probably refers not to his *official* rank, but to his *real* position. It is generally understood that it was his sons 'Alī and Muḥammad who became Chief Qāḍīs, and had the "official" title of Qāḍī'l-Quḍāt, see *infra*, p. 14, n. 1.

[2] Ibn Khallikān.

[3] *'Uyūn*, vi, folio 33.

a scholar endowed with such all-round learning and excellence that even his opponents had to acknowledge his merits. Whatever he wrote and composed, he wrote because of the knowledge derived from the Imāms, who were his contemporaries. And he wrote nothing without presenting each chapter or section to the Imāms in question, who either corrected what was wrong or confirmed what was correct in them.[1] It is this Ismā'īlī tradition, placing Qāḍī an-Nu'mān in such close proximity with the Imāms, that gives him the highest rank and authority. Mu'izz is reported to have said: "He who performs (or possesses) a hundredth part of what Nu'mān performed, to him I guarantee Paradise on behalf of God."[2]

Ibn Zūlāq, in his *History of Egyptian Qāḍīs*, speaking of his son 'Alī, is reported to have paid him a graceful tribute. "His father, the Qāḍī Nu'mān ibn Muḥammad, was a man of the highest abilities, deeply versed in the Koran, fully acquainted with the meaning of the expressions contained in that book,[3] skilled in the systems of jurisprudence, well-informed respecting the conflicting opinions entertained by the legists, learned in Arabic philology, in poetry of the higher class, in the history of the battle-days of the people (the Ancient Arabs), and distinguished for intelligence and equity. He composed for that family (the Fatimids) some volumes containing thousands of leaves; they were drawn up with great talent and in a style remarkable for the beauty of its cadences and rhymes."[4]

SONS AND FAMILY.—Qāḍī an-Nu'mān, the founder of an illustrious family of *qāḍīs*, was the father of two very distinguished sons:

I. ABŪ'L-ḤUSAIN 'ALĪ B. AN-NU'MĀN.

Was a distinguished scholar and jurist. Served as *qāḍī* and later as supreme *qāḍī*, chief preacher and chief *imām* of

[1] *'Uyūn*, vi, ff. 33, 35.
[2] *'Uyūn*, vi, folio 41.
[3] Is this a reference to his *ta'wīl* books?
[4] Ibn Khal., iii, 365–6.

Egypt, Syria, Mecca, and Medina, for nine years under al-'Azīz bi'l-lāh (fifth Fatimid Caliph). He was the first to have the official title of "Qāḍī'l-Quḍāt".[1] Born 329/940, died 374/984. (*Kitābu'l-Wulāt*, 589–591, and Gottheil, op. cit., 240 sqq.)

II. Abū 'Abdi'l-lāh Muḥammad b. an-Nu'mān.

He was first an assistant to his brother 'Alī, then he acted for and finally succeeded him as supreme *qāḍī*. Was greatly respected and became very influential. Born 340/951, died 389/999. (*Kitābu'l-Wulāt*, 592, and Gottheil, op. cit., 243 sqq.)

The following table taken from Gottheil (op. cit., 238), with the addition of dates, gives a clear idea of the Nu'mān family of jurists:

Ḥaiyūn
|
Aḥmad
|
Manṣūr
|
Abū 'Abdi'l-lāh Muḥammad
|
Abū Ḥanīfa an-Nu'mān, d. 363/974

Abū'l-Ḥusain 'Alī
d. 374/984
|
Abū 'Abdi'l-lāh al-Ḥusain
beheaded 395/1005

Abū 'Abdi'l-lāh Muḥammad
d. 389/999
|
Abū'l-Qāsim 'Abdu'l-'Azīz
killed 401/1011
|
Abū Muḥammad al-Qāsim
finally deposed 441/1049

III. Works

Despite the fact that Ibn Khallikān says that the Qāḍī wrote thousands of pages and was a very prolific author, he is only able to mention six of his works, Nos. 3, 5, 6, 8, 18, and 37 in our list below. Ibn Ḥajar mentions none of his works, and the Ithnā 'Asharī authorities mention the *Da'ā'im*, *Sharḥu'l-Akhbār*, *Mukhtaṣaru'l-Āthār*, and one or two others.[2]

[1] *Kitābu'l-Wulāt*, 590_{22}.
[2] *Mustadrak*, iii, 313 sqq.

Gottheil thinks that only *Sharḥu'l-Akhbār* "seems to have been spared for us".[1] But Saiyidnā 'Imādu'd-dīn Idrīs b. Ḥasan in his *'Uyūnu'l-Akhbār*, vol. vi, mentions forty-two of his works and two more are attributed to him in the *Fihristu'l-Majdū'*, viz. Nos. 14 and 44 below.

I am giving below a classified list of the works of Qāḍī an-Nu'mān, without following the usual order in which they are mentioned in the *'Uyūn*. The works indicated as "lost" or "preserved" represents the generally received opinion of Western Ismā'īlī scholars in India to-day. No information from the Yemen is available, and it is possible that by further search works considered as lost by us may be found to be extant. It will be observed that out of the Qāḍī's forty-four works, twenty-two are considered as completely lost, eighteen are wholly preserved, and four are partially preserved (Nos. 4, 17, 21, and 22). Considering the important position of the author, the loss of half the number of his works during the last five centuries is one the result of which, for Ismailism and Ismailitic studies generally, can hardly be over-emphasized.

Of the Qāḍī's works, only five are known to be preserved in European libraries; the rest are quite unknown. An incomplete copy of the *Sharḥu'l-Akhbār* (No. 33) exists in the Staatsbibliothek, Berlin. Parts 13 and 14 of this work, and three others, viz. *Da'ā'imu'l-Islām*, I (No. 9), *Asāsu't-Ta'wīl* (No. 21), and *al-Majālis wa'l-Musāyarāt* (No. 40) have recently been acquired by the School of Oriental Studies, London.[2]

Qāḍī an-Nu'mān's Works

Classified List

Preserved	18
Partially preserved . .	4
Totally lost	22
Total . . .	44

[1] Gottheil, op. cit., 229. The MS. is Berlin, No. 9662.
[2] (1933) *BSOS.*, vii. 33–9.

A. Fiqh (Canon Law)

*1. كتاب الايضاح *Kitābu'l-Īḍāḥ.*
2. مختصر الايضاح *Mukhtaṣaru'l-Īḍāḥ.*
3. كتاب الإخبار *Kitābu'l-Ikhbār.*
*4. الينبوع *al-Yanbū'.*
5. الاقتصار *al-Iqtiṣār.*
6. الاتفاق والافتراق *al-Ittifāq wa'l-Iftirāq.*
7. الكتاب المقتصر *al-Kitābu'l-Muqtaṣir.*
8. القصيدة المنتخبة *al-Qaṣīdatu'l-Muntakhaba.*
*9. دعائم الاسلام *Da'ā'imu'l-Islām.*
*10. مختصر الآثار *Mukhtaṣaru'l-Āthār.*
11. كتاب يوم وليلة *Kitāb Yaum wa Laila.*
*12. كتاب الطهارة *Kitābu'ṭ-Ṭahāra.*
13. كفية الصلوة *Kaifiyatu'ṣ-Ṣalāt.*
14. منهاج الفرائض *Minhāju'l-Farā'iḍ.*

B. Munāẓara (Controversy)

15. الرسالة المصرية فى الرد على الشافعى
ar-Risālatu'l-Miṣrīya fi'r-Radd 'alà'sh-Shāfi'ī.
16. كتاب فيه الرد على احمد بن شريح البغدادى
Kitāb fīhi'r-Radd 'alà Aḥmad b. Shuraiḥ al-Baghdādī.
17. الرسالة ذات البيان فى الرد على ابن قتيبة
ar-Risāla Dhātu'l-Bayān fi'r-Radd 'alà ibn Qutaiba.
18. اختلاف اصول المذاهب *Ikhtilāf Uṣūli'l-Madhāhib.*
19. دامغ الموجز فى الرد على العتكى (الفتكى ؟)
Dāmighu'l-Mūjiz fi'r-Radd 'alà'l-'Itkī (Fatakī ?).

C. Ta'wil (Allegorical Interpretation of the Qur'ān)

20. نهج السبيل الى معرفة علم التأويل
Nahju's-Sabīl ilā Ma'rifati 'Ilmi't-Ta'wīl.

*21. أساس التأويل *Asāsu't-Ta'wīl.*

*22. تأويل الدعائم *Ta'wīlu'd-Da'ā'im.*

D. Ḥaqā'iq (Esoteric Philosophy)

23. حدود المعرفة *Ḥudūdu'l-Ma'rifa.*

24. كتاب التوحيد والامامة *Kitābu't-Tawḥīd wa'l-Imāmat.*

25. كتاب إثبات الحقائق *Kitāb Ithbātu'l-Ḥaqā'iq.*

26. كتاب في الامامة *Kitāb fi'l-Imāmat.*

E. 'Aqā'id (Dogmatics)

*27. القصيدة المختارة *al-Qaṣīdatu'l-Mukhtāra.*

28. كتاب التعاقب والانتقاد *Kitābu't-Ta'āqub wa'l-Intiqād.*

29. كتاب الدعاء *Kitābu'd-Du'ā'.*

30. كتاب الهمّة *Kitābu'l-Himma.*

31. كتاب الحُلَى والثياب *Kitābu'l-Ḥulā wa'th-Thiyāb.*

32. كتاب الشروط *Kitābu'sh-Shurūṭ.*

F. Akhbār and Sīra (Tradition and Biography)

*33. شرح الاخبار *Sharḥu'l-Akhbār.*

34. (الارجوزة الموسومة) ذات المِنَن
Dhātu'l-Minan (an *urjūza*).

35. (الارجوزة الموسومة) ذات المحن
Dhātu'l-Miḥan (an *urjūza*).

G. Ta'rīkh (History)

36. مناقب بني هاشم *Manāqib Banī Hāshim.*

*37. افتتاح الدعوة *Iftitāḥu'd-Da'wat.*

H. Wa'ẓ (Sermons)

38. معالم المهدى *Ma'ālimu'l-Mahdī.*

39. الرسالة الى المرشد الداعى بمصر فى تربية المؤمنين *ar-Risāla ilā'l-Murshid ad-Dā'ī bi Miṣr fī Tarbiyati'l-Mu'minīn.*

*40. كتاب المجالس والمسايرات *Kitāb al-Majālis wa'l-Musāyarāt.*

I. Miscellaneous

41. تأويل الرؤيا *Ta'wīlu'r-Ru'yā.*

42. منامات الأئمة *Manāmātu'l-A'imma.*

43. كتاب التقريع والتعنيف *Kitābu't-Taqrī' wa't-Ta'nīf.*

44. مفاتيح النعمة *Mafātīḥu'n-Ni'ma.*

J. Apocrypha (Works sometimes erroneously attributed to Qāḍī an-Nu'mān)

(1) تقويم الأحكام *Taqwīmu'l-Aḥkām.*

(2) الراحة والتسلى *Ar-Rāḥat wa't-Tasallī.*

(3) سيرة الأئمة *Sīratu'l-A'imma.*

Descriptive List

After classifying the works of Qāḍī an-Nu'mān, I now give below shortly all the information concerning each of the books drawn chiefly from the *'Uyūn*, vol. vi. The works of special importance are marked with an asterisk.

After giving the list of the Qāḍī's works, Saiyidnā Idrīs says[1]: "Most of these works are well known in the Yemen and only a few of them are lost." Unfortunately he does not say which of them had perished by his time. It is also stated further, on the authority of "the author of the *Sīra* of Kitāma", that *in addition to these* the Qāḍī was the

[1] *'Uyūn*, vi, folio 40.

author of numerous *rasā'il* (tracts) to *qāḍīs* and other individuals.

A. Fiqh

1. *Kitābu'l-Īḍāḥ.*

A comprehensive work on *fiqh* containing all the authentic traditions and reports with their *isnāds*, consisting of 220 *ajzā'*.[1] In the introduction to the *Iqtiṣār* the author says that it consisted of some 3,000 pages; this approximates to some extent with the 3,520 pages according to the ordinary computation of the *ajzā'*. The author began writing it in Mahdī's reign. It is now completely lost, except for the occasional glosses and citations from it which occur in many *fiqh* works.

2. *Ikhtiṣāru'l-Īḍāḥ.*

A shorter work of a similar character. Obviously an abridgment of No. 1. Entirely lost.

3. *Kitābu'l-Ikhbār.*

A book in thirteen *ajzā'*. Still preserved. I have never seen a copy. According to the introduction in *Iqtiṣār* it is also an abridgment of No. 1 and consists of 300 pages.

4. *al-Yanbū'.*

This is omitted in some copies of *'Uyūn*, vi. Part i on *'ibādāt* seems to be lost; part ii on *mu'āmalāt* is still preserved. The introduction not being available, no further information is forthcoming. Next to the *Da'ā'im*, it is considered as of great authority in legal questions, and as of equal weight with *Mukhtaṣaru'l-Āthār*, *Ikhbār*, and *Iqtiṣār*.

5. *al-Iqtiṣār.*

Wholly preserved. Contains a very valuable introduction giving the extent of the *Īḍāḥ* (No. 1) and *Ikhbār* (No. 3), and showing that it was the abridgment of the *Ikhbār*. It

[1] Sing. *juz'* "part". It is not possible to say exactly what the extent of the *juz'* was in those days; to-day it is reckoned as 16 pages. See Hamdānī in *JRAS*. for April, 1933, p. 369.

consists of two volumes as all Ismā'īlī *fiqh* works, part i dealing with *'ibādāt* and part ii with *mu'āmalāt*. Each volume is about 90 pages, 8 by 5 inches. Ibn Khallikān mentions it erroneously as *al-Intiṣār*. Gottheil (op. cit., 221) mentions it as follows: "Fatimide Law (says Maqrīzī), according to the Shī'ite doctrine, was first taught at the Azhar in Ṣafar 365 (975), when 'Alī b. Nu'mān, the cadi, sat in the Cairo mosque known as Azhar and dictated a compendium of law composed by his father for the Shī'ites. This work was called the *Iqtiṣār*."

6. *Kitāb al-Ittifāq wa'l-Iftirāq*.

Completely lost. A book in 40 *ajzā'*, giving the differences between the opinions of jurists and the correct opinion according to the *ahlu'l-bait*. Ibn Khallikān mentions *Ikhtilāfu'l-Fuqahā'*; probably the same work. It should not be confused with No. 18, *Ikhtilāf Uṣūli'l-Madhāhib*, which is still preserved.

7. *Kitāb al-Muqtaṣir*.

Lost. An abridgment of No. 6.

8. *al-Qaṣīdatu'l-Muntakhaba*.

Preserved. A very brief *qaṣīda* in the *rajaz* metre containing an epitome of legal propositions. These compendiums are generally used for memorizing rules of law.

9. *Da'ā'imu'l Islām*.

Full title, *Da'ā'imu'l-Islām fī dhikri'l-Ḥalāl wa'l-Ḥarām wa'l-Qaḍāyā wa'l-Aḥkām*. Preserved in its entirety. Copies fairly common. Consists of two volumes of about 700 pages each; vol. i, dealing with *'ibādat*, begins with an important book on *īmān*; vol. ii deals with *mu'āmalāt*.

It is related in the *'Uyūnu'l-Akhbār*, vol. vi, that once at the court of Mu'izz, Nu'mān was present at a large gathering consisting of a number of *dā'īs* when the conversation turned upon the differences regarding reported traditions, and how on account of this a number of erroneous opinions had come into being as innovations. And Imām Mu'izz spoke to them

about correct opinions and legal propositions, and how his community will necessarily follow the previous generations closely, and repeated the curious tradition of the Prophet: "Verily, you will follow the paths of previous generations like unto a horseshoe follows upon a horseshoe, or an arrow feather, an arrow feather; to this extent that if they (the previous generations) entered the hole of a serpent, surely you too will follow them."[1] Then Mu'izz reported the well-known *hadīth* of the Prophet: "When innovations appear in my community, let the learned man make manifest his learning; else the curse of God be upon him"; and turning to the Qāḍī he said: "You, O Nu'mān, are the one indicated by this saying in these times."[2] He then commanded Nu'mān to compose the *Da'ā'imu'l-Islām*, and explained to him the "roots" (*uṣūl*) and the "branches" (*furū'*) of the law, and related to him authentic traditions from his forefathers, the Imāms of the House of the Prophet, and the Traditions of the Prophet himself, and distinguished those concerning which the reporters had differed. Mu'izz further told him on the authority of Imām Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiq

[1] لتسلكنّ سبل الأمم قبلكم حذو النعل بالنعل والقذّة بالقذة حتى لو دخلوا جحر ضبّ لدخلتموه' [f. 34]. For a similar Shī'ite tradition see the *hadīth* lexicon, *Majma'u'l-Bahrain*, s.v. قذذ. Syed Sulaiman Nadwi, the learned editor of *Ma'ārif* (Azamgadh, U.P.), kindly informs me that similar traditions exist also in the Sunnite collections, e.g. Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, (a) Ed. Dāru'l-Kutub al-Miṣriya, Cairo, A.H. 1327, *Kitābu'l-I'tiṣām*, iv, 1766; (b) Ed. Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, Cairo, A.H. 1345, part ix, p. 126, l. 14, to p. 127, l. 1. I regret I have no access to Krehl's edition. Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, Ed. Dāru'l-Kutub al-Miṣriya, Cairo, A.H. 1327, *Kitābu'l-'Ilm*, ii, 416₄. Tirmidhī, Ed. Mujtabā'ī Press, Dihlī, A.H. 1342, *Kitābu'l-Fitan*, ii, 41₁. Sh. Md. Ṭāhir Fatanī (of Pattan, Gujrat, see *EI*. iii, 696), *Majma' Biḥāru'l-Anwār*, Nawalkishore ed., i, 322; iii, 124.

[2] ثم ذكرلهم قول رسول الله صلعم: اذا ظهرت البدع فى امتى فليظهر العالم علمه و إلّا فعليه لعنة الله' ونظر المعزلدين الله عم الى القاضى النعمان بن محمد رضوان الله عليه فقال: انت المعنى بذلك فى هذا الأوان يانعمان' ثم امر بتاليف كتاب دعائم الاسلام' واصّل له اصوله وفرّع له فروعه' واخبره بصحيح الروايات عن الطاهرين من آبائه عن رسول الله صلعم' [f. 34].

that *Islām* was founded upon seven "pillars" (*da'ā'im*, sing. *di'ām* and *di'āma*), viz. *walāya*,[1] *ṭahāra*, *ṣalāt*, *zakāt*, *ṣawm*, *ḥajj*, and *jihād*. Then he discussed the *walāya* of 'Alī; the real nature of *īmān* (as distinguished from *islām*); the *walāya* of the Imāms descended from the Prophet; the nature of Imāmat and its transference by *naṣṣ* (valid appointment). Thereafter he related the testaments of the Prophet and of 'Alī, and how it is necessary to love the Imāms; then *ṭahāra*, *ṣalāt*, *zakāt*, *ḥajj*, and *jihād*: then what is permissible and what is not regarding food, drink, sale, divorce, inheritance, evidence, and all the other subjects connected with *fiqh*.

Qāḍī an-Nu'mān composed the book as planned by Imām Mu'izz, and used to get it revised chapter by chapter and paragraph by paragraph by Mu'izz, who rejected what was unsound and corrected and retained what was right. Thus there came into existence a book, short yet authoritative, which is a miracle of Mu'izz through the instrumentality of his *dā'ī* and "friend" (*walī*). Qāḍī an-Nu'mān (*'Uyūn*, vi, folio 35).

In addition to this account of the composition of the work, we have also a letter of al Ḥākim bi'l-lāh, dated 20th Dhū'l Qa'da, 391 12th October, 1001, to Hārūn b. Muḥammad, *dā'ī* of the Yemen, which makes the *Da'ā'im* the paramount authority in legal questions among Ismā'īlīs.[2] al-Ḥākim, after discussing various questions with which we are not here concerned, enjoined Hārūn b. Muḥammad to follow strictly that which was laid down in, and to avoid every path contrary to, the Book of Allāh and the Traditions of the Prophet, as derived from his ancestors, the rightly-guided

[1] The word *walāya* has several meanings, including "guardianship". It may also be pronounced *wilāya*; but the Ismā'īlīs always pronounce it with a *fatha*. It means, in its technical sense, the love and devotion which the true believer (*mu'min*) must have towards the Imām and the *ahlu'l-bait*. This duty is clearly laid down in the *waṣiya* of 'Alī preserved in the *Da'ā'im l Islām*. (Cf Fyzee, *Ismaili Law of Wills*, 70–1; 74–5.

[2] This letter (*sijill*) is preserved in *'Uyūn*, vi, folio 268.

Imāms, and "Your answer to those who question you concerning legal questions about what is forbidden and what is allowed should be from the *Da'ā'imu'l-Islām* in preference to *all* the other books which have been handed down".[1] Saiyidnā Idrīs confirms this in his *risāla* entitled *Īḍāḥu'l-I'lām wa Ibānatu'l-Hidāyat* by saying: "The *Da'ā'im* is to be relied on in preference to all other works handed down, on account of the dispatch of al-Ḥākim to his *dā'ī* of the Yemen, Hārūn b. Muḥammad."[2] He then cites the actual words of al-Ḥākim and adds that "for matters on which the *Da'ā'im* is silent, it is permissible to consult other authorities." These in practice are firstly, *Mukhtaṣaru'l-Āthār* and *Yanbū'*; both of these being of equal weight. Secondly, *Ikhbār*, *Iqtiṣār*, *Muntakhaba*, and any other legal works of the author; and lastly, later glosses like the *Kitābu'l-Ḥawāshī*,[3] and later works like *Taqwīmu'l-Aḥkām*, *Kitābu'n-Najāḥ* (for marriage and divorce only), and a few others.

Saiyidnā Idrīs also relates[4] that the Wazīr Ya'qūb b. Yūsuf b. Killis, himself a renegade Jew, wrote a handbook on *fiqh*, known as *Muṣannafu'l-Wazīr*. He began with *ṭahāra*, then prayer, poor-tax, fast, pilgrimage, holy war, and dealt with all the other chapters on *fiqh*, according to the *madhhab* of the Imāms of the House of the Prophet. In this he closely followed Qāḍī an-Nu'mān, and imitated his method and style. Out of this work, according to Saiyidnā Idrīs, only those portions are to be relied on which agree with what the Qāḍī has laid down in his books like the *Da'ā'im* and the *Mukhtaṣar*.

[1] ولتكن فتواک للمستفتين فى الحلال والحرام من كتاب دعائم الاسلام دون ماسواه من الكتب المنتقلة.

[2] Folio 19. This *Risāla* consists of 25–30 small folios.

[3] This is mentioned by Fyzee in his "Ismaili Law of Mut'a": *JBBRAS.* for 1932, N.S., vol. viii, p. 86.

[4] *'Uyūn*, vi, folio 201. This fact is also mentioned by Gottheil, op. cit., 222.

No known copy seems to exist in Europe,[1] though in India complete copies are not rare, as it is generally one of the earliest books taught to the initiate in Ismailism, and is normally studied immediately after *Kitābu'ṭ-Ṭahāra* (No. 12). Professor Strothmann wrote to me on 3rd March, 1932: "When I was in the Yemen, Ismā'īlis denied to have any knowledge of it! I found it at Aden, but they would not give it. There was a MS. at Leipzig in the Collection of Gustav Fock Library." I have seen a number of complete copies, the oldest being a copy of vol. ii, dated A.H. 852, exactly five centuries old.

An early mention of the *Da'ā'im* occurs in the *Rāḥatu'l-'Aql* of Saiyidnā Ḥamīdu'd-dīn al-Kirmānī who died apparently shortly before the death of al-Ḥākim bi amri'l-lāh (d. A.H. 411). al-Kirmānī mentions several works in his introduction to vol. i of the *Rāḥatu'l-'Aql*, which should be read before studying the *Rāḥatu'l-'Aql*. First comes the *Qur'ān* and then several works of Qāḍī an-Nu'mān among which is the *Da'ā'im*. The next important reference is in the *Sīra* of al-Mu'aiyid fi'd-dīn ash-Shīrāzī, who relates that he used to hold assemblies in the presence of the Buwayhid Sultan Abū Kālījār, where he expounded *inter alia* the *Da'ā'imu'l-Islām* of Qāḍī an-Nu'mān. (Hamdānī, "Hist. of Ismā'īlī Da'wat, etc." (1932), *JRAS*., 126, 131.) And lastly, Dr. Hamdānī kindly informs me that Saiyidnā Imādu'd-dīn Idrīs b. Ḥasan mentions the *Da'ā'im* also in his *Zahru'l-Ma'ānī*, chap. xvii. These are all the references I have been able to collect so far, but I feel certain that there must be several others which I have been unable to trace, for the *Da'ā'im* is a work of outstanding importance in the Da'wat literature.

The *Da'ā'im* is also mentioned in the following works: By Strothmann, s.v. "Shī'a": *EI*. iv, 355; s.v. "Bohoras": *EI*. i, 739; *Kashfu'l-Ḥujub wa'l-Astār* (ed. Hidāyet Ḥusain, Calcutta), Nos. 1095–6; *Rauḍātu'l-Jannāt* (Tehran), by

[1] A copy of vol. i has only recently been acquired by the School of Oriental Studies, London. *BSOS*. for 1933, vii, 33–9.

Md. Bāqir al-Khwānsārī, 658_{23}–659_{3}; *Kashfu'ẓ-Ẓunūn* (Constantinople ed.), i, 492; *Muntahā'l-Maqāl* by Md. b. Ismā'īl (Tehran), 318; and the *Mustadrak* cites it continuously; but see particularly iii, 313 sqq.

A summary of vol. ii in Hindustānī was published under the title of *Sharḥu'l-Masā'il*. Extracts from it have been published by me: (1) on "Bequests to Heirs" (1929), *JBBRAS.*, N.S. 5, 141; and (2) on "Mut'a" (1932), ibid., N.S. 8, 85. The *Kitābu'l-Waṣāyā* from volume ii, containing that very interesting document, the *waṣīya* of 'Alī, is being published by me with a translation, notes, and an introduction in the *Ismaili Law of Wills* (Oxford University Press).

10. *Mukhtaṣaru'l-Āthār* (also *Ikhtiṣāru'l-Āthār* ?).

Later Imām Mu'izz asked Nu'mān to abridge the *Da'ā'im* for the use of officials and judges, and this abridgment was called *Ikhtiṣāru'l-Āthār*. It is to be noted that the book, which exists to day in two volumes, similar in arrangement to the *Da'ā'im* but shorter by about half, is called *Mukhtaṣaru'l-Āthār*. It is very curious that in the introduction to this work nothing is mentioned about its being the abridgment of the *Da'ā'im*. According to the introduction, the book was composed in 348, and 'Alī b. Nu'mān was permitted to teach it. As it exists to-day it is the recension of Nu'mān's grandson, Ḥusain b. 'Alī b. Nu'mān. In all probability the two works are the same, although in his account of our author Saiyidnā Idrīs only mentions اختصار الآثار. In the introduction to the first volume of the *Mukhtaṣaru'l-Āthār*, as it now exists, we have the following from the author himself:

فألّفتُ لهم هذا الكتاب متوسطاً بين التطويل والاختصار وسميته
. الاختصار مختصر الآثار

The *Ikhtiṣāru'l-Āthār* was originally named *Kitābu'd-Dīnār*, because it could be copied for a *dīnār*. But when Mu'izz examined it, he found it of great value, as it contained in short compass many authentic traditions of the Imāms, and

recommended to Qāḍī an-Nu'mān that the title should be a more dignified one and suggested *Ikhtiṣāru'l-Āthār*; for in his view the title *Kitābu'd-Dīnār* reduced the book in the eyes of the people. This book was also carefully revised and corrected by Imām Mu'izz, if Saiyidnā Idrīs and the introduction to the book are to be believed.

The book is wholly preserved. It consists of two volumes of about 350 pages each, and the distribution of the subject is the same as that of the *Da'ā'im*, except that the important chapter on *imān*, which is a characteristic feature of the first volume of the *Da'ā'im*, is absent here and we have *ṭahāra* at the very commencement.

11. *Kitāb Yaum wa Laila.*

Probably preserved. No copy has been seen by me so far. A popular work concerning the obligatory prayers.

12. *Kitābu'ṭ-Ṭahāra.*

Preserved. A brief work of about 200 pages on ritual purity (*ṭahāra*), and on prayers, both obligatory (*mafrūḍa*) and traditional (*masnūna*). It is generally the first book taught to beginners in the Ismailitic sciences.

13. *Kaifiyyatu'ṣ-Ṣalāt.*

Lost. A controversial work showing the fallacies of other sects who do not follow the Prophet's injunctions.

14. *Minhāju'l-Farā'iḍ.*

Preserved. This work is not mentioned in the list given in the *'Uyūn*, but it is attributed to our author in the Ismā'īlī bibliography *Fihristu'l-Majdū'*. It deals with the laws of inheritance. A tract of about 30 folios (5 by 7½ inches) of doubtful authenticity.

B. Munāẓara (Controversy)

15. *ar-Risālatu'l-Miṣriya fi'r-Radd 'alā'sh-Shāfi'ī.*

Lost. A polemical tract against Imām Shāfi'ī. In two large parts.

16. *Kitāb Fīhi'r-Radd 'alā Aḥmad b. Shuraiḥ al-Baghdādī.*
Lost. Similar to above against Ibn Shuraiḥ. In two parts.

17. *ar-Risāla Dhātu'l-Bayān fi'r-Radd 'alā Ibn Qutaiba.*
Partially preserved at least. Polemic against 'Abdu'l-lāh b. Muslim b. Qutaiba. I have not come across complete copies. The one I have seen contains the first eight *ajzā'*, about sixty small folios, 4 by 5 inches.

18. *Ikhtilāf Uṣūli'l-Madhāhib.*
Preserved. From the title it seems to be a very valuable work. I have only been able to examine one very modern and imperfect copy; 139 folios, 5 by 8 inches. But copies are not very rare. The introduction shows that the work before us is the recension of Qāḍī'l-Quḍāt[1] 'Abdu'l-'Azīz b. Muḥammad b. an-Nu'mān. It is further said that Qāḍī an-Nu'mān showed the book to Imām Mu'izz; his son, Muḥammad, to Imām 'Azīz; and 'Abdu'l-'Azīz in turn showed it to Imām al-Ḥākim. The copy before me is too incorrect for detailed work; but it is a book which, carefully studied, should give us much information regarding the legal system of the Ismā'īlis, although a cursory perusal of it produces a disappointing impression.

19. *Dāmighu'l-Mūjiz* (? or *Mu'akhkhar*) *fi'r-Radd 'alā'l-'Itkī* (? or *Fatakī*).
Lost. In four *ajzā'*.

C. Ta'wīl (Allegorical Interpretation)

20. *Nahju's-Sabīl ilā Ma'rifati 'Ilmi't-Ta'wīl.*
Lost. In two volumes.

21. *Asāsu't-Ta'wīl.*
Partially preserved. Written before No. 22. Saiyidnā Idrīs says that only sixteen *ajzā'* are preserved. A very important and much studied work, dealing with *walāya* and numerous Qur'ānic stories and verses. A complete Persian

[1] A title never applied to Qāḍī an-Nu'mān, see note 1 to p. 12.

version was made by Saiyidnā al-Mu'aiyid fi'd-dīn, which is in existence to-day, but copies are very rare. The introduction says that the volume contains the "inner meaning" of what is stated in the *Da'ā'im*. The copy I have seen has 325 folios, about 5 by 9 inches, and seems to contain seventeen *ajzā'*.

22. *Ta'wīlu'd-Da'ā'im.*

Partially preserved. This is the title by which it is generally known: but the full title according to a MS. examined by me is: كتاب تربية المؤمنين بالتوفيق على حدود باطن علم الدين في تأويل دعائم الاسلام. 340 folios, 5 by 9 inches. Six *ajzā'* are preserved, each containing ten *majālis*, sixty *majālis* in all. Deals only with the first volume of *Da'ā'im* on *'ibādāt*. In the *'Uyūn*, Saiyidnā Idris mentions twelve *ajzā'*; possibly the second half is lost. A very important work. It is read soon after the *Da'ā'im* among Western Ismā'ilis in India.

D. Ḥaqā'iq (Esoteric Philosophy)[1]

23. *Ḥudūdu'l-Ma'rifa fi Tafsīri'l-Qur'ān wa't-Tanbīh 'alà't-Ta'wīl.*

Lost. Contained exegesis and *ta'wīl*. Seventy *ajzā'*.

24. *Kitābu't Tawḥīd wa'l-Imāmat.*

Preserved. In two volumes. I have not seen a copy. Deals with the public utterances of 'Ali I.

25. *Kitāb Ithbātu'l-Ḥaqā'iq fi Ma'rifati Tawḥīdi'l-Khāliq.*

Lost. In one volume.

26. *Kitāb fi'l-Imāmat.*

Lost. In four volumes. This was distinct from No. 24; and seems to have been lost since Saiyidnā Idris's times.

[1] Although the sections C and D are so divided, it is not always easy to distinguish clearly between a work dealing with *ta'wīl* and another with *ḥaqā'iq*.

E. 'Aqā'id (Dogmatics)

27. *al-Qaṣīdatu'l-Mukhtāra.*

Preserved. A short *qaṣīda* in the *rajaz* metre, concerning Imāmat and Ḥujjat, who is fit for these positions and who is not, although he claims it.

28. *Kitābu't-Ta'āqub* (or *ta'aqqub*) *wa'l-Intiqād.*

Lost. In one *juz'*.

29. *Kitābu'd-Du'ā'.*

Lost. In two *ajzā'*.

30. *Kitābu'l-Himma fī Ādābi Ittibā'i'l-A'imma.*

Preserved. In two parts. A volume of about 200 folios. An interesting work showing how one should act in ordinary life so as to conform with the social manners and practices of the Imāms.

31. *Kitābu'l-Ḥulà wa'th-Thiyāb.*

Lost. In one *juz'*. It is very unfortunate that this is lost, for it may have contained much curious and entertaining information.

32. *Kitābu'sh-Shurūṭ.*

Lost. Its extent is not mentioned in the *'Uyūn*, nor the subject with which it dealt.

F. Akhbār and Sīra (Tradition and Biography)

33. *Sharḥu'l-Akhbār.*

Full title: *Kitāb Sharḥu'l-Akhbār fī Faḍā'ili'n-Nabī al-Mukhtār wa Āli'l-Muṣṭafīn al-Akhyār min al-A'immati'l-Aṭhār.* Preserved, in four volumes, sixteen *ajzā'*. A large work, concerning the Imāms and their excellence. Partially preserved (eight *ajzā'* only) in Berlin, No. 9662. Ahlwardt, ix, 295. Complete copies are not uncommon in India.

34. *Dhātu'l-Minan* (an *urjūza*).

Lost. Contained in metrical form the biography of Imām Mu'izz.

35. *Dhātu'l-Miḥan* (an *urjūza*).

Lost. Concerning the biography of Makhlad *ad-Dajjāl*

al-Māriq. This Makhlad "ad-Dajjāl" seems to be the well-known Khārijite rebel. Ibn Khallikān (iii, 182) says: "It was in the reign of al-Qā'im that Abū Yazīd Makhlad Ibn Kaidād[1] the Khārijite revolted against the Shī'ite dynasty." Makhlad died in the reign of Manṣūr (Ibn Khal., i, 220).

G. Ta'rīkh (History)

36. *Manāqib Banī Hāshim wa Mathālib Banī Umayya.*

Preserved. Two volumes. This work and Nos. 33 and 37 were written at the command of Imām Mu'izz. Historical work containing praise for the Imāms of the house of Hāshim and blame for the Umayyad family.

37. *Iftitāḥu'd-Da'wat wa Ibtidā'u'd-Dawlat.*

Preserved. In two volumes. A very important work dealing with the early history of the Fatimids in Egypt. Ibn Khallikān mentions it as *Kitāb Ibtidā ad-Da'wat li'l-'Ubaidiyīn.*

H. Wa'ẓ (Sermons)

38. *Kitāb Ma'ālim al-Mahdī.*

Lost. In one volume. Contained the religious teaching of Imām Mahdī.

39. *ar-Risāla ilā'l-Murshid ad-Dā'ī bi Miṣr fī Tarbiyati'l-Mu'minīn.*

Lost. In one volume. Tract, concerning the teaching of true believers written to the dā'ī of Miṣr (Old Cairo). Generally known by the title of *Tarbiyatu'l-Mu'minīn.*

40. *Kitāb al-Majālis wa'l-Musāyarāt.*

Preserved. In four volumes. A huge work of some 1,000 pages of a didactic nature giving an account of séances with Imām Mu'izz. The work contains some autobiographical information, but I have not had the opportunity to go through

[1] Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, Cairo ed., has مخلد بن كنداد النكارى, ii, 163_{19}. See also O'Leary, *Hist. Fat. Khal.*, 89.

it carefully. It is one of the books greatly studied by students in the early stages.

I. Miscellaneous

41. *Ta'wīlu'r-Ru'yā.*

Preserved. In one volume. On the interpretation of dreams. I have not come across this book.

42. *Manāmātu'l-A'imma.*

Lost. In one volume. On the dreams of Imāms..

43. *Kitāb at-Taqrī' wa't-Ta'nīf.*

Lost. A book upbraiding those who presume to write books on legal questions without proper knowledge. Two large volumes. It is a pity this is lost; it may have contained much to dissuade the present writer from his task and to instil diffidence.

44. *Mafātīḥu'n-Ni'ma.*

Full title: *Mafātīḥu'n-Ni'ma fī dhikr Imtiḥāni'l-Khalq fī anfusihim wa amwālihim.* Preserved. This is not mentioned in the *'Uyūn*; but only in the *Fihristu'l-Majdū'*. Concerning the Qur'ānic verse (9, 11): إِنَّ اللّٰهَ اشْتَرَى مِنَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ أَنْفُسَهُمْ وَأَمْوَالَهُمْ بِأَنَّ لَهُمُ الْجَنَّةَ، . I have not come across this work.

J. Apocrypha

(1) *Taqwīmu'l-Aḥkām.*

Is a legal work, containing a very brief summary of legal rules in the form of a code. The propositions of law are generally numbered as 1, 2, 3, etc. It is a modern work of unknown authorship, and is not uncommonly used as a handy book of reference. Copies, not uncommon.

(2) *ar-Rāḥat wa't-Tasallī.*

This is also sometimes ascribed to Qāḍī an-Nu'mān. It is a very small tract of about 25 pages of a didactic character.

(3) *Sīratu'l-A'imma.*

No. 42 above is in some copies of the *'Uyūn* called *Sīratu'l-A'imma*. I cannot explain the confusion. Except the *sīras* of Mu'izz and of Makhlad (Nos. 34 and 35), the Qāḍī is not known to be the author of any others. May be the same work as No. 36, which is sometimes known as *Manāqib ahl al-Bait*.

BOMBAY.
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The Victory of Bhūti Vikramakēsari over the Pallavas

By Rev. Fr. H. Heras, S.J.

An inscription on one of the walls of one of the Koḍumbāḷūr temples in the Pudukkottai State accidentally mentions the Pallavas. This inscription has long been overlooked by the historians of the Pallavas. It is already high time to study this reference in the light of what we now know about the Pallava kingdom.

The inscription was first noticed by Mr. Venkayya in 1908.[1] Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri also refers to it.[2] Mr. S. Radhakrishna Ayyar was the first to publish a fragment of it, translated in his *History of the Pudukkottai State*.[3] The full text was published in *Inscriptions of the Pudukkottai State*.[4] The substance of the inscription was also mentioned in the *Chronological List of Inscriptions*.[5] Very recently Professor K. A. Nilakantha Sastri, University of Madras, has published afresh the text and a translation of the inscription, with his own remarks, in the *Journal of Oriental Research*.[6]

The inscription records the construction of three *vimānas* (temples) and a *maṭha* at Koḍumbāḷūr by a chief named Bhūti Vikramakēsarī. The genealogy of the family is, as usual, given in the beginning of the inscription. The history of these chiefs—the Irukkavēls of Koḍumbāḷūr—is still to be written.

The first obscure point about them is their chronology. Mr. Radhakrishna Ayyar, speaking of the constructor of the temples, says: "We shall not be far wrong if we take Pūdi

[1] *MER.*, 1908, p. 87.
[2] *SII.*, iii, p. 249.
[3] Radhakrishna Ayyar, *General History of the Pudukkottai State*, Appendix, p. iv.
[4] *Inscriptions (Texts) of the Pudukkottai State*, p. 9, No. 14.
[5] *Chronological List of Inscriptions of the Pudukkottai State*, p. 2, No. 14.
[6] *JOR.*, vii, pp. 1-10.

(Bhūti) Vikramakēsari to have lived towards the close of the ninth century and in the first half of the tenth century."[1] Perhaps Mr. Radhakrishna Ayyar was induced to assign this late date to Bhūti Vikramakēsari on account of the latter's victory over the Pallava army in the inscription. That author apparently identified this Pallava defeat with the cause of the extinction of the Pallava Dynasty towards the close of the ninth century.

Professor Nilakantha Sastri, moved by "the similarity of names or vague palaeographical inferences",[2] finally concludes that "we have therefore no reason to accept a date about A.D. 880 for Vikramakēsari in preference to one, say between A.D. 950 and 970, suggested by the considerations urged in the preceding paragraph".[3]

I am of opinion that Bhūti Vikramakēsari belongs to a much earlier period. Already Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri expressed his view that on palaeographical grounds the inscription was "much earlier" than the time of Āditya Karikāla II,[4] with whom Mr. Venkayya and Professor Nilakantha Sastri make Bhūti Vikramakēsari contemporary. My opinion is not founded upon palaeographical reasons, but upon facts referred to in the same Koḍumbāḷūr inscription.

According to the Koḍumbāḷūr inscription the only predecessors of Bhūti Vikramakēsari about whom something definite is said are the following two, who happen to be his immediate predecessors :—

Paradurgamardana
|
Samarābhirāma
|
Bhūti Vikramakēsari

[1] Radhakrishna Ayyar, op. cit., Appendix, p. iv.
[2] JOR., vii, p. 4
[3] Ibid., p. 6.
[4] SII., iii, p. 249.

Paradurgamardana is called the conqueror of Vātāpi, and Samarābhirāma is said to have killed the Chalukya at the battle of Adhirājamaṅgala. If the opinions of Mr. Radhakrishna Ayyar or Professor Nilakantha Sastri, saying that Bhūti Vikramakēsarī lived towards the close of the ninth century or during the tenth century, were true, then his father Samarābhirāma must be placed about the middle of the ninth century or the beginning of the tenth. Now the Chalukya Empire was finally overrun by the Rāṣṭrakūṭas shortly after the middle of the eighth century. Samarābhirāma could hardly have killed the Chalukya Emperor when the Chalukya Empire did not exist any more.

Professor Nilakantha Sastri sincerely acknowledges this difficulty : "There seems to be no indication in any other records of the early tenth century of a conflict of the Chāḷukyas of Bādāmi with the Tamils to which the battle of Adhirājamaṅgala may be referred." But his explanation of the possible existence of Chalukya chiefs at Bādāmi under the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, besides being an unwarranted assumption, is absolutely improbable.[1]

As regards the achievement of Paradurgamardana, Vātāpi, a city which he boasts to have conquered, is the same as Bādāmi, the capital of the same Chalukya Empire. Now during the time of the early Chalukyas, Bādāmi was conquered once only, when Narasiṁhavarman Mahāmalla, the Pallava monarch, after defeating Pulikēśi II who had invaded his kingdom, captured the capital of his enemy.[2] At this very time the Koḍumbāḷūr chiefs were the feudatories of the Pallava monarchs, for the Sittannavāsal cave had been carved shortly before, during the reign of the Mahāmalla's father. It is but natural that the then Koḍumbāḷūr chief, whoever he was, would have helped his overlord in driving the Chalukyas out of Toṇḍamaṇḍala. Therefore this conquest of Vātāpi mentioned in the Koḍumbāḷūr inscription is no

[1] *JOR.*, vii, p. 7.
[2] *SII.*, i, p. 152; ii, p. 508; *IA.*, viii, p. 277.

other than the conquest of Vātāpi effected by Narasiṁhavarman Mahāmalla. Very often the subordinate petty kings in these inscriptions claim for themselves the laurels obtained on the battle-field while fighting under their overlord.

As a matter of fact this identification of these two conquests of Bādāmi, one by the Pallava Emperor and the other by the Koḍumbāḷūr chief, finally helps us to understand a passage of some Chalukya inscriptions which has not been explained hitherto. Thus the Karnūl plates of Vikramāditya I inform us that Pulikēśi II was defeated by three allied kings.[1] One of these kings evidently was Prince Mānavamma, lawful king of one of the kingdoms of Ceylon, but then temporarily expelled from it by a usurper. He being the guest of Narasiṁhavarman I helped this ruler against the enemies of his kingdom.[2] But who was the third king who helped Narasiṁha against the invader? Elsewhere[3] I have suggested that he might possibly be King Kaṇḍuveṭhi, who according to the same *Mahāvaṁśa* was another friend of Prince Mānavamma.[4] Yet this was a mere suggestion without any strength. The Koḍumbāḷūr inscription now reveals to us that the third king of the confederacy against the Chalukyas was the Koḍumbāḷūr king, Paradurgamardana.

As regards Paradurgamardana's son, Samarābhirāma, he is again mentioned in a war against the Chalukyas. He is said to have killed the Chalukya at the battle of Adhirājamangala. Was this another war, or perhaps the same one referred to above? I am inclined to the latter opinion, compelled by the following reasons:

(1) The next war between the Chalukyas and the Pallavas after the conquest of Vātāpi was the war between Vikramāditya I and Paramēśvaravarman I. Then the southernmost portion of the Chōḷamaṇḍala was not under the Pallava sway

[1] BBRAS., xvi, p. 226.
[2] *Mahāvaṁśa*, pt. ii, p. 35.
[3] Heras, *Studies in Pallava History*, p. 36.
[4] *Mahāvaṁśa*, pt. ii, p. 34.

any more. The Gadvāl plates of the Chalukya Emperor Vikramādiya I, after narrating the capture of Kāñchī during the reign of Paramēśvaravarman I, tell us that the Chalukya Emperor "encamped in Uragapura" in "the Chōḷika province".[1] This Uragapura according to all authors and commentators cannot be any other place but Uṟaiyūr, the ancient capital of the Chōḷas, near Trichinopoly. Hence in the time of Paramēśvaravarman, Trichinopoly and its neighbourhood, and much more the territories comprised now within the boundaries of the State of Pudukkottai, were already lost to the Pallavas. Hence the Koḍumbāḷūr chiefs were not feudatories of the Pallavas any more, and therefore as subordinate chiefs, probably under the Chōḷas, had no private grudge against the Chalukyas.

(2) The fact that according to the Kūram plates of Paramēśvaravarman I, Narasiṁhavarman Mahāmalla wrote in the flesh of Pulikēśi II, on his back, the three syllables of the word "Vijaya" as he would on a copperplate,[2] when taken literally, and combined with the capture of Bādāmi immediately after this event, has already led some to suspect that Pulikēśi II died on the battle-field.[3] The wording of the Koḍumbāḷūr inscription tends to confirm this opinion.

(3) The battle at Adhirājamaṅgala mentioned in the Koḍumbāḷūr inscription may be identified with the battle of Maṇimaṅgala,[4] called by another inscription Pariya-Bhūmaṇimaṅgala.[5] If this identification is not acceptable, there is no inconvenience in supposing a new battle, for the inscription, after mentioning these battles, also says that the Chalukya army was defeated in other places.

This achievement of Samarābhirāma refers, therefore, to the same war between Pulikēśi II and Narasiṁhavarman

[1] *EI.*, x, p. 105.
[2] *SII.*, i, p. 152.
[3] Smith, *EHI.*, p. 495; Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 358.
[4] *SII.*, i, p. 152.
[5] *IA.*, viii, p. 277.

Mahâmalla. It is not uncommon in inscriptions of that period to find facts attributed to kings which, after some study, lead one to acknowledge that they were really done under those kings, but not while they were actually reigning; it was when they were only crown-princes during the reign of their fathers that those facts took place. Thus the Chalukya Emperor Vinayâditya is said in the Vakkalēri plates of Kirtivarman II to have captured the army of the King of Kâñchi.[1] Yet the Kēndūr plates of the same monarch, published some years afterwards, removed any shadow of doubt when stating that Vinayâditya vanquished "the proud army of the confederacy of the kings of the lord of Kâñchi, at the command of his father".[2] Such is the custom of the inscriptions when there is nothing or little to be said in connection with the actual king: then his achievements as crown-prince are referred to. Such was very likely the case of Samarâbhirâma, where his achievement as crown-prince is mentioned under his name as king. Indeed, there is nothing far fetched in the supposition that Samarâbhirâma, as heir apparent accompanied his father in the war of the Pallavas against the Chalukyas, and that in the midst of the turmoil of battle, he was fortunate enough to find himself in face of the Chalukya monarch, near enough to deal him a death stroke.[3]

[1] Ibid., p. 28.

[2] *E.I.*, ix, p. 205. Cf. Heras, *Studies in Pallava History*, pp. 48-50.

[3] The only serious objection against our views as regards this Koḍumbâḷūr chronology is archæological. The temples of Koḍumbâḷūr built by Bhūti Vikramakēsari seem to belong to a much later period. The general style of the temples, the technique of the sculpture, the system of construction, appear Chōḷa rather than Pallava, and look more of the tenth century than of the seventh. Yet between this objection and the objection of the capture of Bâdâmi and the slaying of the Chalukya king in the ninth or tenth centuries, the former seems to be more easily solved. As a matter of fact, the Koḍumbâḷūr temples may be classified as an "archæological puzzle" or as "an architectural phenomenon". If those temples are finally placed in the tenth or even in the eleventh century, you will still have the square cupola like umbrella at the top of the *vimâna* and specially the construction itself of the *vimâna*—without precedent and without

This long disquisition into Pallava-Chalukya history will finally help us a great deal to establish the chronology of the Koḍumbāḷūr chiefs, and to determine when Bhūti Vikramakēsarī defeated the Pallavas, his overlords.

As seen above, Paradurgamardana was a contemporary of Narasiṁhavarman Mahāmalla. Yet the reigns of these two kings, overlord and feudatory, do not seem to be fully synchronous, for there was only one generation between Narasiṁhavarman Mahāmalla and Paramēśvaravarman I in whose reign we already find Uṟaiyūr, and therefore Trichinopoly, "within the Chōḷika province." Now between the reign of Paradurgamardana and the time of this northern enlargement of the Chōḷa kingdom we must place the reign of Samarābhirāma and part of the reign of Bhūti Vikramakēsarī down to the time of his defeating the Pallavas. This seems to suggest that at the time of the capture of Bādāmi by Narasiṁhavaman Mahāmalla helped by Paradurgamardana, which was in the beginning of Narasiṁha's reign, the Koḍumbāḷūr chief was then already an old man, whose reign was near its close. The circumstance that his son Samarābhirāma, then only the heir apparent, took such an active part beyond that of his father in this war against the Chalukyas, even as to claim to have slain the Chalukya monarch, shows that this prince was far from being an inexperienced youth; rather he must have been a man of maturity, courage, and valour, able to decide the fate of the armies on the battle-field; all of which inclines us to believe, that the father of such a warrior could not but be of an advanced age.

Now, since the capture of Kāñchī by Vikramāditya I took

consequent, totally unique in South Indian architecture—without a satisfactory explanation. Bhūti Vikramakēsarī or his architect, or perhaps both, were geniuses much beyond their age. Had the style of Koḍumbāḷūr found followers, a new style of architecture would have existed in South India. But now the temples are like an isolated instance of the work of a genius that found no followers.

place some time during the reign of Narasiṁhavarman's second successor, and since at this time Uṟaiyūr was already lost to the Chōḷas, we must acknowledge that the reign of Samarābhirāma roughly coincides with that of Narasiṁhavarman—for the latter's successor, Mahēndravarman II had a short reign [1] -and that of Bhūti Vikramakēsarī with that of Paramēśvaravarman I. It is therefore evident that in order to make this necessary synchronous arrangement we must admit that Paradurgamardana died not long after the capture of Bādāmi.

Now the date of this event has been already fixed as A.D. 637.[2] Therefore we may draw the chronological table (p. 41) of these kings giving to each of them, excepting to Mahēndravarman II (for the reasons given above), an average reign of 25 years.

From an inspection of the table we may draw the following deductions:

(1) The reign of Samarābhirāma was probably coming to a close when Paramēśvaravarman I ascended the throne.

(2) A few years only (five years, according to our calculation) after the enthronement of Paramēśvaravarman I, Bhūti Vikramakēsarī took up the chieftainship of Koḍumbāḷūr.

(3) Before the end of Paramēśvaravarman I's reign, the southernmost portion of the Chōḷamaṇḍala had already been wrested from the Pallavas.

(4) Therefore the defeat inflicted upon the Pallava army took place during the reign of Paramēśvaravarman I.

It is therefore evident that during the reign of Paramēśvaravarman I and even during the first half of his reign, between

[1] Mahēndravarman II, the immediate successor of Narasiṁhavarman I, seems to have had a very short reign. He died childless, and was succeeded by his brother, Paramēśvaravarman I. The inscriptions do not say anything definite about him. As a matter of fact the Chalukya Emperor, who wanted to take revenge of the defeat inflicted upon his father by Narasiṁhavarman I, had not even time to attack his first son and successor.

[2] Heras, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

665-7 and 674, the southernmost portion of the Chōḷamaṇḍala was lost by the Pallavas.

Years	Chalukya History	Pallava History	Koḍumbāḷūr History
630	Reign of Pulikēśi II (continued).	Beginning of reign of Narasiṁhavarman Mahāmalla.	Reign of Paradurgamardana (continued).
636-7	Capture of Bādāmi and death of Pulikēśi II. Chaos.	—	—
640-2	—	—	Probable death of Paradurgamardana and beginning of reign of Samarābhirāma.
655	Probable beginning of reign of Vikramāditya I.	Probable death of Narasiṁhavarman Mahāmalla and beginning of reign of Mahēndravarman II.	—
660-1	—	Probable death of Mahēndravarman II and beginning of reign of Paramēśvarman I.	
665-7	—	—	Probable end of reign of Samarābhirāma and beginning of reign of Bhūti Vikramakēsarī.
674	Date of the encampment of the Chalukya army at Uragapura (Uraiyūr), when the Gadvāl plates were issued.	—	The territory south of the Kāvēri, and therefore the territory of the Koḍumbāḷūr chiefs was already under the Chōḷa kings.
685-6	—	Probable death of Paramēśvaravarman I.	

How this came to pass we cannot state, for our only direct information is the mention of the defeat inflicted by Bhūti

Vikramakēsari, in the Koḍumbāḷūr inscription. Yet a small piece of information given by the same inscription against the name of Samarābhirāma, Bhūti Vikramakēsari's father, connected with the preceding history of the Pallava conquests, gives us sufficient light to conjecture the probable course of events.

All the southern territories of the Pallava kingdom from Madras down to Pudukkottai had been wrested from the Chōḷas.[1] It is but natural that the Chōḷas should wait for the first opportunity to reconquer the lost territories. In the meantime, while they did not yet dare to defy the Pallava power, they did not waste time, and continued preparing themselves for the forthcoming struggle. One of these preparations was the union by marriage with the families of the Pallava feudatories ruling over their old territory. One of these families was that of the Koḍumbāḷūr chiefs. The Koḍumbāḷūr inscription informs us that Samarābhirāma, the father of Bhūti Vikramakēsari married the Chōḷa Princess Anupamā, who according to the inscription was the daughter of the Chōḷa king.[2] It is not difficult to imagine what happened a few years after. When Bhūti Vikramakēsari, the son of a Chōḷa princess, ascended the throne, a Chōḷa-Koḍumbāḷūr alliance against the Pallavas was very easily effected, and the result of this alliance was the Pallava defeat mentioned in the Koḍumbāḷūr inscription. The probable date of this event may be A.D. 670.

Is there any hint of these probable events in the contemporary Chōḷa history? The only Chōḷa king of the seventh century well known to us is Kō Chen Kannan. He is called by Tirumangai Āḻvār, the overlord of the earth and vanquisher of the Southern king and the lords of Kudagu, Kongu and the lord of the Southern Tamil country and the Northern king. Moreover, he is said to be the victor

[1] Cf. Heras, op. cit., pp. 19-21.
[2] *JOR.*, v.i, p. 10.

at Venri and Alundai.[1] Now this latter place seems to be in the Tanjore district. All these data point to a king who reconquered part of the Toṇḍamaṇḍala up to some villages of the Tanjore district, evidently from the Pallavas, the only rulers of the country in those days. The same king is said to have defeated the Pāṇḍya king, called the Southern king or the lord of the Southern Tamil country. Now the Koḍumbāḷūr inscription tells us that Bhūti Vikramakēsarī defeated the Pallavas and the Pāṇḍyas alike. It is therefore likely that these campaigns of Kō Chen Kannan and of Bhūti Vikramakēsarī against the Pallavas and the Pāṇḍyas were the same campaign. Hence it seems quite probable that the Chōḷa king who sought the alliance of the Koḍumbāḷūr chief in his war against the Pallavas was Kō Chen Kannan. This was the first design of the Chōḷa reaction against the Pallavas.

Was this territory conquered by the Chōḷa king, aided by Bhūti Vikramakēsarī, ever reconquered by the Pallavas? Undoubtedly so, for in the north-western portion of the Pudukkottai State, the Kelattur Tāluka, there are five inscriptions of the time of the later Pallava kings: two of the time of Nandivarman II Pallavamalla,[2] two of the time of Dantivarman,[3] and one of the time of Nṛipatungavarman.[4]

It is very significant that all the inscriptions found in the Pudukkottai State with reference to the Pallavas, after the victory of Bhūti Vikramakēsarī, are inscriptions of Nandivarman Pallavamalla and his successors only. In point of fact the two reigns of Narasiṁhavarman II Rājasiṁha and of Paramēśvaravarman II seem to have been very peaceful. But in the time of Nandivarman Pallavamalla we find the Dramila princes allied with the usurper Chitramāya

[1] *Periya Tirumoli*, iv, 6, stanzas 5, 6, 8, and 9.
[2] *Chronological List of the Inscriptions of the Pudukkottai State*, p. 2, Nos. 15 and 16.
[3] Ibid., Nos. 17 and 18.
[4] Ibid., No. 19.

besieging Nandivarman, the lawful king, in the fortress of Nandipura. This place seems to be the modern village of Nathan-Kōvil near Kumbhakonam. Naṇḍipura was undoubtedly on the boundary of the then Pallava kingdom, for, as seen before, Uraiyūr, near Trichinopoly, was already Chōḷa territory. The Dramila princes were the Tamilian kings,[1] *viz.* the Pāṇḍya and the Chōḷa kings, who were supposed to be the traditional enemies of the Pallavas, to whom perhaps the then Koḍumbāḷūr chief, a feudatory of the Chōḷas, may be added.

The siege of Naṇḍipura was finally raised when the faithful general Udayachandra "slew Chitramāya and others" and "defeated the hostile army" in a series of battles.[2] Now among the places where these battles were fought there is one Nelveli, which Dr. Hultzsch identified with modern Tinnevelly. This seems to suggest that the hostile army of the Dramila princes was defeated in a series of battles, as far south as Tinnevelly, and therefore that the old Pallava territories, and even perhaps some more, were conquered anew. The Koḍumbāḷūr chiefs had therefore to offer their allegiance to the Pallavas once more, though apparently very unwillingly.

[1] Cf. Gopalan, *History of the Pallavas of Kanchi*, p. 124.

[2] "Udayendiram plates of Nandivarman II Pallavamalla": *SII.*, ii, p. 372

Ward 468



1

Ward 483a



2

Ward 453b



3

Ward 468c



4

Ward 300



5

Delaporte 68

Ward 300a

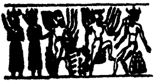


6

7

Delaporte 74

Ward 140a



8

9

Fig.

1. Two demons figured as fantastic lions attacking a man.
2. Winged lion (as demon) consuming a man.
3. Winged panther demon attacking a man. Enkidu in combat with a lion.
4. Panther demon attacking a man, also attacking an animal. Enkidu in contact with a lion.
5. Bird devil brought before a deity.
6. A devil brought before the Sun-god.
7. Devils captured or slain by Sun-god.
8. Devil smitten by Sun-god.
9. Bird devil, captured and brought before Heaven-god.

To face p. 43.]

Babylonian and Hebrew Demonology with reference to the supposed borrowing of Persian Dualism in Judaism and Christianity

Lecture delivered for Professor A. B. Cook in the University of Cambridge

By S. LANGDON

(PLATE I)

DUALISM is a term introduced into modern theology by the Englishman, Thomas Hyde, in 1700, and was first used to describe the fundamental principle of Persian Zoroastrism, namely the independent existence of good and evil. Ormazd the good god and Ahriman the evil god in the theology of the Persians represent an absolute dualism. For them Ahriman, corresponding to Satan of Judaism and Christianity, is entirely independent of the creator god. Good and evil, God and the Devil, are primeval supreme powers. Now I wish to trace the history of Satan or the Devil in Christianity back through Judaism, Hebrew, and Babylonian religion to its origin among the Sumerians. I shall endeavour to prove this Persian dualism, which admits that God did not create the Devil, to be totally foreign to Sumerian, Babylonian, and Hebrew speculation; and I shall then briefly examine the evidence on which modern scholars admit dualism to have been held by the Jews of the Apocalyptic period and by early Christianity as set forth in the New Testament. It is my conviction that Persian religion never had any influence upon Judaism or early Christianity. Satan, the Devil (*diabolus*), is traceable directly to Babylonian theology; there he is the creation of the gods.

Dualism in this ethical sense has no relation to dualism in metaphysics. After the time of Thomas Hyde the word was almost immediately transferred to philosophy, to the problem of mind and things. With philosophical dualism or

the independent existence of mind and matter, body and soul, the problem of God and Satan has no relation at all. Fichte said, however, that anyone who believes in philosophical dualism, as, for example Decartes did, is no philosopher. It may be said with equal German acidity that anyone who believes in ethical dualism or that God did not create the Devil is no theologian.

Before discussing Babylonian and Hebrew theology concerning the demons and devils it is necessary to point out a fact which seems to have been entirely overlooked or, at least, obscurely defined, in the history of theology. It is what may be defined as "cosmological dualism". The Babylonian *Epic of Creation* states definitely that in the beginning there was nothing but watery chaos, a mingled mass of bitter and fresh water, ruled over by the female dragon Tiamat. This she-dragon Tiamat, the Tehôm of the Hebrew account, is of Semitic origin. The version of creation in Genesis, borrowing from the late Babylonian myth, assumes a primeval chaos. Tohu and Bohu was the earth and darkness was on the face of Tehôm. But the late Hebrew author saw the difficulty of assuming a primeval water from which all things descended, gods and the universe; in Babylonia the gods themselves descended from the primal element, water; finally a terrific combat between the Sun-god and primeval darkness ended in the slaughter of the she-dragon with her twelve male dragons. That assumes a cosmological dualism. It admits that the gods created heaven and earth from the substance of chaos or water; it admits the original independent origin of the dragon of chaos. The Hebrew writer clearly saw this difficulty; he was a monotheist and writes that El had himself created this primeval matter.

As I have said all this is late Semitic speculation. The real origin of the myth is much older. The Sumerians also assumed that water is the first principle and made no further effort to explain it. This was the primeval chaos, over which presided the dragon Mušḫuššû. Many representations of this serpent

dragon, which in the original Sumerian myth took the place of Tiamat in the later Semitic versions, are available. The most suggestive monument is a seal in the British Museum.[1] Here the creator Sun-god with lightning, thunderbolts, quiver and arrows, or in other designs with sword, smites the fleeing dragon. This older Sumerian form of the primeval combat between good and evil is the one which the Hebrew poets knew as referred to in the Book of Job, xxvi, 13, "His hand pierced the fleeing serpent."

Babylonian representations of the combat between the creator god and the primeval dragon never refer to the late Babylonian she-dragon Tiamat at all. In the various designs of the dragons in combat with the Sun-god,[2] Tiamat does not appear, but either Mušḫuššû or one of the twelve fantastic monsters who opposed the gods. The real Hebrew speculation or, rather, Sumerian legends, in these matters was preserved only in their poets, and there they borrowed from early, not late, Babylonian sources. The reference to Rahab and the fleeing serpent in Job is based upon the original Sumerian legend.

The ancient Sumerian Mušḫuššû appears in Hebrew mythology as Leviathan, coiling serpent of the sea. In late Apocalyptic literature a belief arose in a final combat between God and Satan, between good and evil. In some of these writers the dragon of chaos actually becomes the Devil or the enemy of god and oppressor of God's people, who will be slain in the last combat. This is a complete misuse of the ancient role of Mušḫuššû or Leviathan. We shall see shortly that Satan, the Devil, is of totally different origin and had no connection with the ancient cosmological dualist myth.

A late visionary poet whose apocalypse is preserved in our

[1] W. H. Ward, *Seal Cylinders of Western Asia*, No. 579, reproduced and discussed in the writer's *Semitic Mythology*, p. 131. Mušḫuššû was identified with Hydra, *Semitic Mythology*, p. 278. In my edition of the *Epic of Creation*, p. 87, n. 9, I was in doubt on this point. Bašmu, ibid., 88, n. 8, cannot be Hydra.

[2] *Semitic Mythology*, pp. 278–284.

text of Isaiah describes this future victory of God over Sata in the following lines :—

"In that day will Yāv take vengeance,
With his sword, harsh, mighty and powerful,
Upon Leviathan, the fleeing serpent,
And upon Leviathan, the coiled serpent,
And will slay the dragon which is in the sea."

The original Sumerian legend of a combat between Ninurta god of war, the victorious light of the spring sun, witl Mušhuššu and the dragons of chaos survives in the Hebrev Psalms :

"Thou hast rent asunder the sea by thy power.
Thou hast broken the heads of the dragons on the waters.
Thou hast smitten the head of Leviathan."

Babylonians and Hebrews believed that creation of a ordered world was made possible only by the triumph of th creator god over the chief dragon of watery chaos ; the Hebrews not independently, but only in complete acceptance of Sumero Babylonian views. There is no trace in Hebrew that th gods descended from this primeval matter. They knew however, the myth of how the gods had sent their champio to slay the monster, which wished to brood in peace over th primeval abyss. There is here, nevertheless, a definite theor that good and evil exist together in the substance from whic all things descended. It resulted in a *cosmological dualism* which in Babylonia never had the slightest connection witl devils and other authors of all human woe. And throughou the Hebrew scriptures this myth of the battle of Yāv o Elohim, their god, with Leviathan and the other dragons o chaos is preserved by the poets. Only in very late times wa this incarnation of cosmological disorder ever confused wit Satan or the incarnation of ethical wickedness.

These views must be held clearly in mind ; the history c the devils who finally emerged in the figure of Satan, lord c wickedness and the material world, is an entirely differen

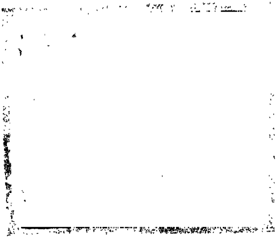
sphere of speculation and mythology. Here we come to the ethical aspect of the matter and to what has been defined (wrongly, I hope to prove) as *ethical dualism*. Demons and evil spirits who destroy men's happiness are an aspect of every national religion of antiquity. Demons of a primitive kind among the Canaanites and Hebrews are well known, but most of the demons in Hebrew religion are derived both in name and character from Babylonia. Now the demons and devils of Babylonia are entirely Sumerian, and at a very early period they no longer preserve any primitive characteristics. They are fitted into a very definite system of theology: these are the demons which had most influence upon Hebrew demonology, and it is to them and not to the primitive demons of Canaanitish and Hebrew religion that the history of Satan-Diabolus must be traced.

In Sumer and Babylonia the devils are the sons of the Heaven-god. In abstract terms the personifications of human woes and sorrows are created by the gods themselves. The lords of sin and misery are an inherent part of divine providence: sin and misery exist because it is the purpose of the gods to shew their power over the demons. It is entirely obvious from the Babylonian and Sumerian texts that the devils are free agents, free to exercise their nefarious attacks upon man: the gods have no control over the will of Satan, although he is their own creation.

Now, before I describe Babylonian and Hebrew demons, an historical fact should be emphasized. Sumerian religion was known in Phœnicia, Syria, and Canaan before 2000 B.C., and cults of Sumerian deities were firmly established in Canaan before the final occupation by the Hebrews. Ninurta, Sumerian god of war, of the spring sun and "lord of swine", had a temple near Jerusalem before the Hebrew occupation, and another at Byblus in northern Phœnicia. The cult of Tammuz is known to have been firmly established at Byblos, whence spread the cult of Adonis to Greek lands at an early date. Jerusalem itself was an ancient seat of sun-worship

which persisted throughout Hebrew history. At Beth-Shan, an ancient Canaanite city north of Jerusalem, the serpent cult of the Babylonian god Shahan has been found in abundance. Here, also, was found clear evidence of the worship of the Babylonian Ishtar. "The house of *Šaḫan*" in Canaan was obviously a seat of the Babylonian Ishtar cult. The Philistines fastened the body of Saul to the walls of Beth-Shan and placed his armour in the temple of Astarte or Ishtar there.

When the Hebrews entered Canaan, that was no longer a land of primitive hunters, wandering Bedouin with primitive



customs. The parallel is the entry of Anglo-Saxons into Roman Britain. When the Hebrew people entered Canaan the Sumerian demonology was already firmly established among the Canaanites, and if they really understood Sumerian theology there can be no question whatsoever about dualism there.

In the assertion of statements so radical and far-reaching as these you naturally press for facts. This hitherto unpublished seal in the Ashmolean Museum shews one of the

representations of the seven devils [1]; I refer now to the second register; there are eight animal-headed demons on this monument. The corresponding bronze plaque, *Catalogue de Clercq*, ii, pl. xxxiv (*Sem. Myth.*, fig. 44) has seven devils, viz., panther, lion, dog, sheep, wild ram, vulture, and serpent. They are represented as ferocious beasts in mythology, to describe their hostile nature. The demons are usually called the wicked *udug* or *utukku*, a word which means "ghost". A ghost demon may be both good and bad. They are also called *gigim* or *eṭimmu*, also a word for "ghost". The word *utukku* does not appear in Hebrew, but *eṭimmu* passed into late Hebrew as *ṭimi*.

A Sumerian text describes the seven devils as follows :—

"They are rushing storms, evil gods.
Merciless *šêdu* who were created on the bulwark of heaven.
They are makers of trouble.
They uphold wickedness, they come daily to make trouble.
They attack to commit murder.
Among the seven, firstly there is the south wind.
The second is the great viper, whose wide open mouth slayeth every man.
The third is an angry panther, whose mouth knows no mercy.
The fourth is a terrible adder . . .
The fifth is the raging lion which knows not how to retreat.
The sixth is a rising [wind] which attacks god and king.
The seventh is the north wind, evil wind which wrathfully smites.
Seven are they, messengers of the Heaven God, the lord."

The general word for "devils" actually means "ghost"; but it is clear that some of the demons are pure creatures of mythological fancy, especially those of the winds and disease.

The ghost devils of Hebrew mythology are the Raphâim, who dwelt in the land aforetime. Og of Bashan was the last of these giants or monsters of old times in Moab. They are described as giants of old times in Canaan. One had six fingers and six toes, and Og's bed was nine cubits long and four cubits wide. Chedorlaomer in the days of Abraham smote them in

[1] An article on this seal has been unavoidably delayed by the editors of a certain volume of essays since 1927.

Asteroth Garnaim. Although the Hebrews describe the giants of ancient times in Moab and Canaan as Raphâiim or sons of Rhaphâ, there is no doubt but that Raphâim also means "souls of the dead". The word is perfectly known in Hebrew and Phoenician, and occurs often in Babylonia, *rabû* "to sink into darkness". The Raphâim belong to genuine West Semitic mythology and represent a belief common to Sumerian and Semitic religion. There is no borrowing from Babylonia here, but it should be noted that the Raphâim of Hebrew demonology do not figure in the future evolution toward the concept of Satan.

In the third register of this seal is a woman in child-birth, being protected by two priests at her head, while the serpent-headed devil attacks her at the foot. In the lower register is the terrible she-devil Lamme. She was the baby-killer, the dreaded child-seizer of Sumerian and Babylonian religion. Here she has been cursed, provided with food, and sent away on an ass to the infernal world. This demoness Lamme survived in Greek demonology as Lammia. Sappho mentions Lammia who desired to slay all babes.

In the text cited above, the devils are also called *šêdu*. A Sumerian text describes the devils as:

"The *šêdu* decimating heaven and earth, and the land,
Whose power is of Heaven, whose roving is in Heaven.
Once on a time in the place of the forms of the gods,
In the house of the holy chamber, in the house of the goddess of flocks of the goddess of grain they grew fat.
Full of wickedness are they.
Cause them to swear the curse, and may they never return outside or inside (this house)."

The *šêdu* are represented as bulls: according to the Sumerian manner of writing their name they are described as "bulls of the pit", bovine spirits of the nether world. These were the dreadful messengers of Nergal, lord of hell. Nergal lord of the dead is the Sumerian god of summer heat, of plague and pestilence. The Babylonians called him Malku, the king. For some reason the cult of this infernal deity was

deeply rooted in Canaan and Phœnicia. The god of Tyre was Melki-qarti, "Milku of the city," or Melqart.

The Canaanites made human sacrifices to Malik or Milik in the Valley of Hinnom, near Jerusalem, as the Carthaginians did to Melqart. This is the Moloch of the Hebrew text, the god of inferno and the dead.

These bull demons, the *šêdu* messengers of Nergal or Malik-Moloch, are frequently mentioned in the Old Testament. A Hebrew poet, in the Song of Moses, refers to these foreign deities and demons of Babylonia.

> "They made him jealous with strange gods,
> They sacrificed to the Shêdim which are not gods.
> To gods whom they knew not,
> To new gods that came in of late."

The author of the 106th Psalm says that in the ancient days of pagan Canaan sons and daughters were sacrificed to the Shêdim. Baruch, a Jew, writing in the time of Jesus Christ, mentions these same devils, the Shêdim.

The Babylonians and especially the Assyrians made huge figures of these winged bulls and set them at the portals of their palace gates. These were the good *šêdîm*, protectors of the royal abode. This custom arose from fear that demons might enter the palace, for they were held to be constantly at war with the gods and their representative on earth, the king. The threshold was especially dangerous and the most likely place which the devils would attack. The same idea prevailed among the Hebrews. There are in a late passage of Exodus detailed regulations concerning the robe of the high priest. To the hem of this robe were sewn golden bells that "the sound should be heard when he goeth in unto the holy place and when he cometh out that he die not".

I may be permitted at this point to stray from the ethical discussion into rituals briefly. This practice of sounding bells when one crosses the threshold or the ringing of bells in the temple is clearly founded upon the belief that bells alarm and deter the devils.

A bronze bell has been recovered from Assyria having the same figures of the seven demons designed *repoussé* on its surface.[1] The Sumerians called it the *urud nigkalag* or "copper instrument of power", and the Babylonians borrowed the word as *nikalaggû*. And here is a description from a ritual of 2400 B.C. A demon let loose from the lower world had attacked a man[1]:

> "He was torn asunder from his soul,
> Like waters in full flood he trembled.
> Food he ate not, water he drank not."

The god Marduk saw it and went to his father Ea, the water god, for instructions. His father said:—

> "Go my son, fill the *asammu* jar with water.
> Put tamarisk and nard in it.
> Cast the incantation of Eridu on that water.
> Wash this man, bring out the torch.
> The curse which is in the body of the man will flow away like water.
> The bell, champion of the Heaven-god, whose awful peal terrifies,
> Which expels all evil take thou.
> Where its peal falls bring him, verily it is thy helper."

I do not imply that this ritual of bell-ringing in Hebrew was borrowed from Babylonia. It is common in the magic of all superstitious religions, but historical circumstances invite one to infer that the whole custom of bell-ringing may have spread from Sumer.

The Sumerian and Babylonian demon *lilû* and the female *lilitu* were evil spirits of the winds, causes of sexual sin. *Lilitu* or *Lilith* passed into Hebrew mythology in post-exilic times. In the present book of Isaiah there is a prophecy against Edom:

> "Wild beasts will meet jackals,
> And Satyr cry to its fellow.
> Only Lilith shall rest there
> And find for herself a place of repose."

[1] Gressmann, *Texte und Bilder*, fig. 572.

The demons of Babylonia swarmed over the whole of western Asia, passed into Greek demonology, hence into Christian demonology, and have hardly ceased to exercise an important role in the Christian Church to this day. There was the Babylonian *gallû* who attacks the hands of man. The Greeks confounded this devil with Lammea, the child-snatcher, and under the name Gellô she is a demoness to this day in Christian Roumania. Nearly every one of the names of the horde of Babylonian devils passed into Greek, Jewish, and Christian demonology.

This is an endless aspect of magic, but I hope before taking up the subject of Satan to have made this point clear. Hebrew religion as it advances toward an absolute monotheism assigns an increasing sphere of influence to the devils. Jewish religion in the time of Jesus is surcharged with demonology, and the Babylonian legend of the seven devils was widely believed in New Testament times. This sudden emphasis of the Satanic powers in the daily life of man, and in a period when the Hebrew religion was culminating in a lofty conception of monotheism, in noble doctrines of ethical purity, is clearly due to Babylonian influence.

It may be truly said that among other things the far-flung and ancient civilization of Sumer and Babylonia bequeathed to Judaism and Christianity the doctrine of inherent evil in the world. They literally gave them their conception of the Devil.

In the horde of Babylonian devils it is difficult to say who was the greatest. No one among them emerges as supreme, but they are all " sons of the gods ". Now this idea that the devils were sons of god, supernatural beings, and incarnation of sin, is borrowed by the Hebrews. In Babylonia they are the adversaries of the gods and kings. This idea that the demons are adversaries of god is good Babylonian mythology. There is eternal war between the gods and their own creation, the demons.

In late Hebrew demonology Satan appears as one of " the

sons of god". This word means "adversary", and in Job he came before Yâv among the "sons of god", as the adversary of Job, the seducer of the righteous.

It is clear that the Hebrews called the devils "sons of god" by fully accepting Babylonian theology. It is also clear that the chief of these demons was named "the adversary" for the same reason. On this plate Nos. 7 and 8 shew Sumerian devils as adversaries of the Sun-god. These are very realistic expressions of that very ancient idea. Both seals come from a period before 2000 B.C. Now note that on both of these seals the demons wear the same horned turban as does the Sun-god himself. This is the infallible mark of divinity in Sumerian representations of gods.

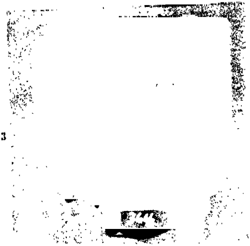
At Kish we excavated the grave of a princess whose Sumerian seal was published in this JOURNAL, 1930, Pl. IX, No. 1. This grave comes from a period about 2900 B.C., and shows that the idea of the devils at war with the gods is already firmly established. There is absolutely no difference in the representations of gods and devils here.

Nearly 4000 years ago the theory of Satan adversary of the gods and man is here, and it is traceable without lacunæ to the present day.

With the later theological development in Judaism and Christianity, where Satan or Belial represents the material world over against the spiritual world, my discussion must end. This conception is new and ended in asceticism, renunciation of all things material and the religious orders of Christianity. It must be pointed out that even with the authority of St. Paul behind it this conception is not earlier than the late Judaistic period. It is neither Babylonian nor Hebrew. It substitutes for an ancient monism a theological dualism. But Persian dualism, so far as I can see, never had the slightest influence upon this long development. If the Devil has been throughout the ages to the present day a very real mythological person in Judaism and Christianity, Sumer and Babylonia are the ultimate source of that conception.



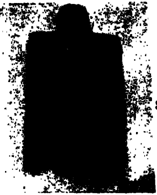
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[To face p. 31.]

Archaic Sons and Grandsons

A Study of a Chinese Complication Complex

By L. C. HOPKINS

(PLATE II)

AT first sight it must seem strange that words so commonplace and simple, in whatever language, as sons and grandsons, should deserve discussion in the JOURNAL of our Society. But any reader who should endure to the end of the following pages would readily admit that simplicity is the last quality that emerges from the fog of forms and symbols examined.

In order to reduce for the reader the difficulty of grasping the ascertained facts and the presentation of their disentanglement and explanation here attempted, the several characters, and, later, short groups of characters, are described and considered in detached sections. But before thus passing in review the forms whose characters are involved—we might say implicated—in the perplexities of the complex confronting us, it will be pertinent, in view especially of certain phrases or invocatory and desiderative formulas, to scrutinize the nature of Chinese writing as first displayed to us in the first and second millennia B.C.

Familiarity with the inscriptions of the Honan Find, and also with the published reproductions of the earliest Bronzes, leads me to qualify to some extent the description of archaic Chinese writing as Pictographic. Doubtless its origin was such. But when we first come upon it, the great mass of its characters more justly deserve to be termed Diagrams. For a Diagram is "an illustrative figure which, without representing the exact appearance of an object, gives an outline or general scheme of it, so as to exhibit the shape and relations of its various parts". Thus the New English Dictionary defines the word.

And though a certain number of figures deserving the name of Pictures, crude, clumsy, and childish, indeed, but still Pictures of a sort, are found mostly on the oldest Bronzes, and fewer on Bones and Tortoise-shell, yet a much greater sum had emerged from that stage and entered the ranks of the Diagram even in the era of the Shang Dynasty. Very many others had, under the influence of linearity and constant use, lost all semblance of their primitive images and declined into what seem mere arbitrary tokens. Such is especially true of the twenty-two members of the Denary and Duodenary Cycles, some of which recur on almost every fragment of the Honan Find.

But even with those that may fairly be described as Diagrams, it needed but quite slight distortions, disproportions, or displacements, to baffle or mislead the later scholar. How easily these trifling changes may annul the real significance of a character may be seen and appreciated by inspecting a few instances. Let us, as briefly as possible, take the archaic and the Lesser Seal versions respectively of the characters 伐 *fa* "to smite, attack", 伏 *fu* "to crouch, submit", 卬 *ang* (later replaced by the augmented form 仰 *yang*) "to look upwards", and 保 *pao* "to protect, preserve".

On the Honan Relics, where *fa* is common,  or  are ordinary examples. In the Lesser Seal of the *Shuo Wên* these have become . Not much difference, certainly, the same two elements, *man* and *weapon*, in the same relative positions. Not much, but enough, 'twill serve! In the older form, a linear Diagram, the blade of the weapon is laid across the neck of the man, and the readers of that time could, and doubtless did, draw the intended inference. But in the Lesser Seal the contact of blade and man is lost, and therewith the constructive point and innuendo of the character, which becomes a vague and commonplace collocation. Again, with 伏 *fu*, to crouch, we have, in the oldest form, found

only on the Honan Relics, not on the oldest Bronzes to my knowledge,[1] another linear Diagram. Here we see fronting us , a large and noble figure, the Victor, under whose outstretched arm crouches a small and miserable shape in profile, the Vanquished, the whole design symbolizing the doctrine that Might is Right. But what do we see in the Lesser Seal version, ? A human figure, now in side view, facing left, and behind him to the right his submissive *dog*, and not the poor human victim of the ancient concept. In this case the deformation of the earlier diagram has been more considerable.

But in the third of the four characters, 卬 *ang* (later mostly replaced by its augmented form 仰 *yang*), an actual alteration hardly exists. In the archaic scription the form was , in the Lesser Seal as shown in the *Shuo Wên*, it is . The two components are the same in both. It is Hsü Shên, the author of the *Shuo Wên*, who, himself misled, has misled scholars of his own and later ages, by asserting in this and many other instances that the right-hand element is 卩 *tsieh*, a seal, whereas, in fact, it is the figure of a crouching man. Accordingly he missed altogether the real significance of the construction, which depicts a crouching man looking up at another standing over him, a visible acknowledgment of superiority, and the confessional abasement of an inferiority complex.

But perhaps the *suggestio falsi* is more misleading in 保 *pao*, to protect, than in the others, none the less so that the actual change is trifling, but deadly to the significance. The Lesser Seal, however, is not in fault this time, the sabotage must be charged to the *li shu* or modern style, which treats

[1] It should be noted that the single form given by Takada, *Ku Chou P'ien*, ch. 32, p. 30, is one "reconstructed" by him, as he points out, and not an actual example discovered on any ancient materials; a practice of his, on the whole, to be regretted.

the character as if it consisted of 口 *k'ou* "mouth", above 木 *mu* "wood", whereas the upper part is the head, and the lower is the trunk and arms of *tzŭ*, plus the two side strokes, the swaddling clothes, all these factors being straightened or angulated, the disguise of the infant in its protective wrappings being thus rendered complete.

The Character 巳 *ssŭ*

Except as one of the Duodenary Cycle or Cycle of Twelve Branches, the word *ssŭ*, as above written, has no other meaning. But agreement is general that the archaic forms and , as well as the Lesser Seal , are intended to represent the human fœtus in an early stage, in profile, with the skull, the first part to assume a definite shape in the womb, conspicuously shown. Now it is true that under the character 包 *pao* (the *Shuo Wên*'s 344th Radical), the author does write, 在中象子未成形也, *ssŭ tsai chung hsiang tzŭ wei ch'êng hsing yeh* "the figure inclosed depicts the child as yet unformed", as Karlgren says.[1] But under the character 巳 *ssŭ* itself (its 533rd Radical), and in conflict with what it says under 包 *pao*, the *Shuo Wên* declares, 故巳爲它象形, *ku ssŭ wei t'o hsiang hsing*, "And so *ssŭ* is the depiction of a serpent." If both these explanations come from the same hand, and not one from Hsü Shên's and one from some later commentator's, I must concur in Chalmers' observation of the *Shuo Wên's* "dissertation . . . in connection with the cyclical or horary characters, which is only mystification". And Chalmers immediately following this, adds what is well worth noting, the sentence, "巳 *tsze*, *sze*, however, may be from the same root as 子 *tsze*

[1] *Analytic Dictionary*, p. 241.

(91), and the figure may be an embryo." The identity of sound of 巳 and 子 in Cantonese (*tsze* in both cases), doubtless reproduces a similar identity in very early times.

And here we make contact with the subject of our investigation at the point where occur two of the members of the Cycles of Ten and Twelve, by whose twenty-two permutations has been operated from time immemorial the notation and demarcation of the passing days or years. And these twenty-two characters are the commonest of all those to be found in the inscribed relics of the Honan Find. One only, it was long believed, could not be discovered there, and that was 巳 *ssŭ*. But at last Lo Chên-yü was able to point to one which, as he writes,[1] is "a unique instance".

Unique however, it is not. One, certainly, and I think two, other examples are in my own collection, H. 554, preceded by 辛 *hsin*, and H. 3, in which last, however, it does not form part of a Cycle couplet.[2] But Wang Hsiang cites from Lo's own publication two further examples, apparently overlooked by Lo himself. In one 巳 *ssŭ* follows 己 *chi* (the sixth of the Cycle of Sixty); in the other, it is not part of a Cycle couplet, but the identity is clear enough.

When all is said, however, the character 巳 *ssŭ*, though not absolutely wanting, is very rare in the inscriptions of the Honan Find. But unfortunately (from the point of view of a would-be simplifier of epigraphic complexes), the matter cannot entirely be dismissed at this point. There is still another form, and one that stands for an independent

[1] *Yin Hsü Shu Ch'i K'ao Shih*, p. 5, with reference to *YHSK*, ch. 1, p. 31.

[2] The text is most obscure. In modern script it runs: 甲午卜晛貞巳中酒正在十月二, *chia wu pu hsien chêng ssŭ chung chiu cheng tsai shih yüeh erh*. This commences: "On the day Chia-wu inquired through the Tortoise," and ends: "In the 12th moon." Between these terminals lies the obscurity. *Ssŭ chung* might mean, if 巳 *ssŭ* were written for 汜 *ssŭ*, the 汜水 *ssŭ shui*, a river in Honan Province, "within the Ssŭ (region)," and *chiu chêng* is found in the Chou Li as the title of the Superintendent of Wines.

character, which, though very rarely, also occurs in these archaic Cycle couplets in the place of 巳 *ssŭ*, but, so far as I know, has not been recorded by Chinese or Japanese scholars in that connection. This further archaic form is , the early predecessor of 以 *i*, and is often found on the ancient Bronzes, while on the Honan Find fragments it seems to appear only as a rare homophone and surrogate of 巳 *ssŭ* in the time-cycle couplets in a few cases. This archaic character is now written 厶 *ssŭ*, and supposed to mean "private" or "selfish". And by a slight distortion or variation of this was developed a form in the *Shuo Wên*'s Lesser Seal, which was ultimately standardized as 㠯, *now* pronounced *i*, *but in the earliest times* having some such sound as *ssŭ* or *stŭ*[1] (that is to say, an initial sound that either hissed or fizzed), and is defined by the *Shuo Wên* as 用 *yung* "to use", being without doubt the prior scription of the modern and augmented character 以 *i*, with the same sense.

Now the reason for citing this variant form 㠯 is that it is seen in the character 耜 *ssŭ* "a plough-share" (possibly originally "a hoe"), of which, as I confidently believe, our archaic character *ssŭ* was the primitive and pictographic original.[2] The variants so far noted in the Honan Find are four, (after 癸 *kuei*), (after 己 *chi*), (after 辛 *hsin*) (these three on C. 2000, Cooling-Chalfant Collection in British Museum, see Figs. 4 and 5, Plate II), and one (after 己 *chi*) H. 252, in my own.

Such, then, were two very rare ancient characters, one the actual early form of 巳 *ssŭ*, and one a homophone of the latter, that can be proved to have been used, if few and far

[1] See Karlgren's *Analytic Dictionary of Chinese*, Nos. 179–182.

[2] And not, as I once surmised, the figure of a bent-handled spoon. See "Pict. Recons." in *JRAS*, for 1919, p. 380.

between—to denote the sixth of the Duodenary Cycle in the era of the Shang-Yin Dynasty.

But, and this was the surprising discovery when the Honan Relics were first subjected to examination, in what then seemed to be a rule without exception, there appeared instead of 巳 *ssŭ*, the well-known shape of 子 *tzŭ* "a son". Now this apparition was the more startling because all students knew that 子 *tzŭ* "a son", was itself a member, and the first member, of this same Duodenary Cycle. Yet here it was found masquerading as the sixth. In what guise, then, did the *first* of the Cycle of Twelve present itself in these constantly recurring Cycle couplets? Not, indeed, as the normal 子 *tzŭ*, its constant form there from the Han Age onwards, but as one or other of the scores of varying scriptions of  (to adopt that of the *Shuo Wên*), where it is described as the *chou wen* form of *tzŭ*. (Some notion of the range of variation of detail may be gathered from the forty-two variants shown below, p. 72.) Hence we are compelled to conclude that in Shang-Yin times two different scriptions of one and the same word, meaning "son", were in use in the Duodenary Cycle, in different places of that series, and with different functional values! Surely this may be qualified as a conclusion of confusion. But here it must be added that similar surprising instances can be adduced from ancient Bronzes cited by the *Chün Ku Lu Chin Wên*. Thus in vol. vi, p. 46, we find an inscription commencing (as there transcribed) 丁 子 *ting tzŭ*, though no such Cycle couplet as *ting tzŭ* exists. So, in vol. vii, p. 52, the same. And ibid., p. 78, there appears 癸 子, transcribed *kuei tzŭ*, though, again, no such couplet exists. In each case the character transcribed as 子 *tzŭ*, as in form it is, stands for 巳 *ssŭ*, but the paradox is ignored and passed over without a word by the editor.

And if some rather irritated reader should demand what all the above dissertation on *ssŭ* has to do with Sons and

Grandsons, the title of this paper, I should be driven, with apologies to the late W. S. Gilbert, to remark that Every little son and grandson that is born alive, Must have been an embryonic *ssŭ* preparing to survive.

And now having finished with 巳 *ssŭ*, the human embryo, we should naturally come to the examination of 子 *tzŭ*, the human babe, in the most usual of the several types found in archaic Chinese to write the word, as we shall see shortly. But between the pre-natal and the post-natal stages of development there intervenes a momentous act and function—a crisis, a down-thrust, a rending, a delivery—the accomplishment of parturition and child-birth.

Naturally the Chinese language contains words for such physiological events. But what we had not seen before the Honan Relics displayed them to us, are in various manners, Pictograms or rather Diagrams, the import of which is unmistakable, though the actual corresponding words indicated may be less easy to show.

It is true the *Shuo Wên* contains two characters of this kind, 𠫓 and 㐬 in modern writing,[1] but in the Lesser Seal, inversions of  and , *tzŭ* "son", and it states that they had the same sound as 突 *t'u* "abrupt, sudden", explaining them by the words, 不 順 忽 出 也, *pu shun hu ch'u yeh* "not smoothly, suddenly appearing". But it is clear Hsü Shên misunderstood the significance of these inverted forms, for as the author of the *Liu Shu Ku* rather drily observes, "At childbirth the head is the first to descend. Hsü treats the right presentation as an unfavourable one, not having inquired into the natural course of events." And whatever the ancient sound of these two characters may have been, whether

[1] These two forms are never found alone, but only in composition, and it may be suspected that Hsü Shên guessed at their sound. Further, the second form mostly appears in compounds whose sound is *liu*, notably in 流 *liu* "to flow", of which perhaps it may be the earlier scription.

both were *t'u*, or one were *t'u* and the other *liu*, or both were *liu*, it is reasonably certain that both were intended to represent a new-born infant. How otherwise can we explain the forms of 弃 and 棄 *ch'i* "to cast away, abandón", where in the old scription the two hands, or the two hands holding a winnowing basket, are casting out a new-born but unwanted infant? An allusion to Chinese infanticide, as Wieger remarks. And even more obvious is the significance of such forms as  and  found in the Honan Relics,[1] when the upper part is recognized as 母 *mu* "mother", and the lower as 㐬 or 𠫓, the inverted figure of 子 *tzŭ* "son", being, as thus combined, a diagram of the act of parturition. Still more crudely frank are the more linearized designs  and  from the same source, and listed by Wang Hsiang of Tientsin among the variants of 育 *t'u* (now read *yü*), following the decision of Wang Kuo-wei.

We might now harden our hearts and abandon our new-born infant, were it not for a unique form found on the Honan Relics, which appears to be essentially related to this topic. This form is  and is followed by  *tzŭ* "son", and was at first included in his collection of "unknown characters awaiting investigation", by Lo Chên-yü. The original fragment with its inscription may be seen in his *Yin Hsü Shu Ch'i, Hou Pien*, 下, p. 18, from which I have copied the figure. Takada inserts it under the character 孟 *mêng*, and, of course, 孟子 *mêng tzŭ* would make good sense, provided the lower part of the form could be regarded as a variant of 皿 *min* "food-vessel", but its unlikeness to any known example of the latter is too great for the identity to be accepted.

[1] *Yin Hsü Shu Ch'i*, ch. 2, pp. 24 and 25. See also my "The Honan Relics", in *JRAS*. for Jan., 1921.

A rival and interesting view of the value of the character, and of its composition, has been put forward in the *Yin Hsü Wên Tzŭ Lei P'ien*, ch. xiv, p. 13, by Shang Ch'êng-tsu (商承祚), a pupil of Lo Chên-yü, and is seemingly accepted by the latter.

In their view  is a variant of 育 *yü* "to give birth", and consists of 子 *tzŭ* "son" over 也 *yeh*, and they call in support of this identification the *Shuo Wên*'s often derided explanation of the Lesser Seal version , as 女陰 *nü yin*, the female pudenda. Should this decision be approved, it would not only justify the *Shuo Wên*'s dictum, but we should have to see in the form a crude diagram of the uterine cavity and vagina.

Two critical points, however, may be made on this. One is that, assuming the correctness of Shang's analysis of this at present unique character, why is not the course of nature realistically represented, and the whole character inverted ?

The second is that though Shang and with him Lo may have rightly grasped the significance of the diagram, it does not necessarily follow that the *word*, the unit of speech in question, is 育 *yü* "to give birth". It might be some other word, such as 產 *ch'an*, of equivalent sense.

子 *tzŭ* "Son, Child", First and Normal Type

Having now, owing to certain maternal contours, safely inferred the existence of our subject as a human embryo ; having later assisted at his appearance as a new-born child, we are now to meet him again as an infant in arms.

For that is what the average most ancient type  is meant to indicate diagrammatically. It is not for nothing that both arms are shown, but not both legs. Chinese scholars agree that the undivided line downwards suggests the enwrapping swaddling clothes confining and concealing the infant's legs. And this interpretation is confirmed by the

earlier formation of another character, now written 保 *pao* "to protect, preserve", already discussed towards the beginning of this paper. This earlier scription was  and , the latter much the commoner, and according to the *Liu Shu Ku* (*Six Scripts*) meant 嬰 兒 衣 *ying erh i* "a baby's clothing", and depicted an infant in its long skirt and jacket, 象 子 在 裙 襦 中 *hsiang tzŭ tsai ch'ün ju chung*.

Somewhere also in years gone by, in some Chinese writer, I remember a passage, not noted down at the time, in which the author opined that the ancient character  was intended to convey in graphic fashion the joyous motions of very young children who throw up and down their quick arms, sometimes together, sometimes, , one up and one down. It seems a happy and acute observation of natural facts.

We do not know by what criterion Hsü Shên, the author of the *Shuo Wên*, divided the many additional forms he arranged under the headings 古 文 *ku wên* "ancient forms", and 籀 文 *chou wên*, or "oracle forms", as I believe the term really meant. Whatever it may have been, the Honan Relics exhibit many examples of each, not seldom of both, in the same inscription. And under the 525th "Radical" we find entered as the *ku wên* version of 子 *tzŭ*, the form , where the author describes the three upper strokes as the hair. Two confirmations of this figure can be given from the Honan Bones. One comes from a fragment in my collection, H. 556, and is the second in a line of four characters, the first being 貞 *chêng*, the second  *tzŭ*, the third 有 *yu*, and the fourth an unknown one, written .

The other confirmation is from Lo Chên-yü's work, *Yin*

Hou Shu Ch'i, ch. 6, p. 42, where a broken passage consists of four characters, on the right are  = 卜 子 *pu tzŭ*, and on the left  子 (?), *tzŭ* (?). By a curious coincidence  the same unknown form occurs in both passages, while the second passage contains two variants of 子 *tzŭ*. It is always agreeable to find statements in the *Shuo Wên* corroborated from the Honan Find when no other external support is accessible.

And now we have almost, but not quite, disentwined the entanglement of *tzŭ*, 子, and *ssŭ*, 巳, for there remains one small but obstinate knot in the recording of the Cyclic dates observed on the Honan Relics. We have seen that ever since Han times say, from the opening of the Christian era, the Denary Cycle has comprised both 子 and 巳. We have had to recognize the surprising fact that in Yin-Shang calendars 子 *tzŭ* stands, as a rule, for 巳 *ssŭ*, and we shall see that, as a rule, the *Shuo Wên's chou wên* form  takes the place of 子 *tzŭ*, as the first of the Cycle of Ten. But these two rules are not absolute. My own collection affords four instances where 子 *tzŭ* is found, exceptionally, just as modern formulas would have it, e.g. three times after 甲 *chia*, once after 庚 *kêng*. All these are on artificial Cowrie miniatures, and two of these, H. 300 and H. 301, are otherwise so interesting that a photograph is included in Plate II, Figs. 2 and 1. These small artifacts, which are doubly pierced for suspension, and bear inscriptions averaging from twelve to sixteen characters on the upper surface, have evidently a talismanic value, as their legends prove. The reading of the latter is made unusually difficult from several causes, but chiefly owing to the confusing crowding of the characters, due to the need of conforming to the circumscribing oval outlines. From this embarrassment, as well as from the

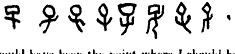
uncertainties of unknown characters, H. 300 and H. 301 are exceptionally and fortunately free. Accordingly, the following transcription in modern Chinese may be accepted as correct so far as the individual characters are concerned: 甲子田侯叔日得合璧樂祥兮. But one of the traps that have been set on these Cowrie legends is that, as elsewhere, things are not always what they seem, and that some rearrangement of the apparent sequence of the words is often required to reach the real import of the sentence. So here the four characters that fill the central space must be taken together, and the whole inscription will then run as follows: 甲子田侯叔日合璧樂得祥兮, *chia tzŭ t'ien hou, shu jih ho pi, lê tê hsiang hsi*, that is, "On the day *chia tzu*, being the initial day of the New Moon, May the Marquis of T'ien have the best of good fortune!"

A few notes in explanation and support of this rendering are required. 1. *Chia tzŭ* is the first day of the Cycle of Sixty. 2. The Marquis of T'ien: with these words we make contact with recorded Chinese history. T'ien was the family name adopted, in place of Ch'ên, by a certain Ch'ên Wan after taking refuge in the State of Ch'i in 672 B.C. His descendants ultimately ousted the rulers of that State, and became its Marquises. 3. The word 叔 *shu* must stand for 俶 *shu* "to begin, initial", given in the *Erh Ya* as a synonym of 初 *ch'u* "first". I take *shu jih* to be the first or initial day of some long stretch of time, perhaps a year, or a cycle of years. This expression is followed by the two characters 合璧 *ho pi*, which, on the face of it, mean "conjoint discs", and recur constantly on the seventy Cowries in my collection, where they seem to bear an astronomical import. But I have found no such explanation in any dictionary or other work I have been able to consult, with the single exception of the *Tz'ŭ Yüan*, which under the heading 日月合璧 *jih yüeh ho pi*, cites from the *Han Shu* the following passage, with the appended comment: 復覆太初曆·晦朔弦望皆最密·日月如合璧·五星如連珠·(注)謂

太初上元甲子夜半朔旦冬至時．七曜皆會聚斗牽牛分度夜盡如合璧連珠也, i.e. in English: "The recurrence of the Great Primordial Cycle; the Dark, the New, the Quarter, and the Full, all very close together; the Sun and the Moon like Discs in conjunction, the Five Planets like Strung Pearls. (*Commentary*) Denotes the time of the Winter Solstice at midnight before the dawn of the first Chia Tzu day of the Opening Period of the Great Primordial Cycle, when the Seven Luminaries are massed together in the stellar spaces of the Bushel and the Drover, and when the night ends, resemble conjoint Discs and strung Pearls."

May we infer from this passage that 合璧 *ho pi*, as used on these Cowries, denotes the night of *any* New Moon? How I wish that M. de Saussure were still living to consult!

The following series of figures fully represents the variations in this type of the character 子 *tzŭ*:



This would have been the point where I should have introduced the second type of 子 *tzŭ*, viz. the form given by the *Shuo Wên* as the *Chou wên* scription, had not the character 孔 *k'ung* acted as the Wait-a-bit Thorn acts in South Africa, and detained us from hurrying on. For if the thesis about to be advanced be correct, we shall surprise our subject in a new attitude, and satisfying an eternal need. Let us first ascertain what is the received and authoritative meaning of this word *k'ung*, and examine what has been the Han scholars' explanation of the construction and the significance of the Lesser Seal character. The word *k'ung*, in modern usage written 孔, is current in speech and in literature. In the latter it appears also as a superlative adjective, "greatly, highly, very." In the former it means a cavity of various kinds, but is especially the term for the cavities, openings, passages, pores, and ducts in the human body. Thus 七孔 *ch'i k'ung* are the Seven Apertures in the head, 鼻孔 *pi k'ung* are the

nostrils, 毛孔 *mao k'ung*, lit. "hair-holes", are the pores of the skin, while in a general sense 孔路 *k'ung lu* is "an open road, a thoroughfare", and 孔方 *k'ung fang*, lit. "open square", is a term for the copper cash with its central square opening. So much for the modern shape, and the senses of the character *k'ung*. How has the author of the *Shuo Wên* dealt with its Lesser Seal form,  ? Not, surely, very successfully nor lucidly.

Passing without comment the definition or explanation of that form by the gloss 通 *t'ung* "communicating", we find he dissects the character as being composed with 乚 *ya* "swallow" and 子 *tzŭ* "son", the two making a Suggestive Compound, and he then adds the words 乚請子之候鳥也 *ya ch'ing tzŭ chih hou niao yeh* "The swallow is the migrant bird when male offspring is prayed for", and "The swallow having arrived and offspring appearing, the former is held in admiration".

Thus has Hsü Shên made shift to account for the Lesser Seal *form* of the character, but what relevance has this little fragment of Chinese folklore either to the senses borne by the word *k'ung*, or to the exegetic gloss supplied by Hsü? It seems to have *no* relevance. Had *k'ung* meant either "son" or "swallow", it might have been deemed that the explanation had some bearing on it.

But the fact is that the Lesser Seal that Hsü Shên was at pains to account for differs markedly from the most ancient form, a form evidently unknown to Hsü, but shown below,



This ancient figure is seen to consist of the most usual form of 子 *tzŭ* "son", in contact at one point with a small arc of a circle, or sometimes of some other curve. Though these

curves differ slightly in certain examples, contact is always kept, as it ought to be, if the explanation I now propose be the true one. In my view, then, we have here a picture, or, rather, a diagram, of a suckling, A CHILD AT BREAST. And if such an interpretation of the structure of the character leaves the connection between the design of the latter and the sense or senses of the word *k'ung* obscure, at least that interpretation is not based on a demonstrably wrong analysis of the component elements. But while it is hardly to be expected that this revolutionary view of 孔 *k'ung* as a scene of sweet domesticity will be received otherwise than incredulously, at



any rate at first, still I shall hope that—to detach and adapt a couplet of Pope to a narrower horizon and a less homiletic atmosphere—Yet seen more oft, its form in memory kept, We first deride, then ponder, then accept.

If opening, channel, duct, is really an original sense of *k'ung*, and the *Shuo Wên's* gloss 通 *t'ung* "communicating" is very compatible with such a sense, may not the archaic

character be designed to illustrate one all-important channel, the lacteal meatus through which her babe absorbs his mother's milk from her nourishing breast!



Chou wên OR SECOND TYPE OF *Tzŭ* "SON"
Not found in Lesser Seal or Modern Forms

There must have once been a clearer and more self-revealing figure than either this or any of the very numerous variants exhibited on Bronzes and especially on the Honan Relics. But certainly we have a frontal aspect of a human being, in which we discern, as the *Shuo Wên* points out, the scalp with its hair, the arms, 臂 *pei*, the legs, 脛 *ching*, "upon a stool," 在几上也 *tsai chi shang yeh* (this last seems more doubtful). But these details are not entirely to be trusted, and I have thought it best to give some forty-two variants gathered from Bronze and Bone originals above. I call attention to Fig. 1 on Plate II, from a Cowrie in my collection, where it occurs in a most interesting instance of the phrase 子孫 *tzŭ sun* "sons and grandsons". There is no special significance in the arrangement of these forty-two examples, but they seemed to fall into these several groups. We can now leave our Second Type, with the satisfaction of feeling that we have set our infant on his feet at last. And among the strange contracted forms shown the child, it will be seen, almost always keeps his feet.

We come at last to the Third Type of *Tzŭ* , a type unknown in the Lesser Seal, and consequently unrecorded by Hsü Shên in his *Shuo Wên*. But this well-marked and rather arresting human figure facing the spectator, with legs wide apart, and arms spread outwards with hands downward, is of not uncommon occurrence on the older Bronzes and in the Honan Relics. In the former it is the first word in the expressions 子孫 *tzŭ sun* "sons and grandsons", and 子福 *tzŭ fu* "sons and happiness", but in the latter relics,

though rarely, it appears in the Duodenary Cycle or Twelve Branches, (thus it is contained in the Cycle couplets 丙子 *ping tzŭ*, shown in Fig. 4, Plate II. and in 壬子 *jên tzŭ*, in H. 115). as well as in the ordinary sense of "son".



I call attention to the very striking mutual confirmation of the last two examples figured above, the third being from a Bronze, the fourth from a Bone in my collection (H. 115), the correspondence extending even to the discreet but unmistakable indication of sex, sufficing to prove that our subject is well on his way to man's estate. And at this stage in our subject's life we can for a time take leave of him, though we shall have to meet him again later.

孫 *Sun* "Grandson". First and Normal Type

This is one of the Suggestive Compound Class, in which neither of the components is used for its phonetic value, but each helps by its association with the other, to point to the meaning of the combination. This is the only type of *sun* that survived into the Lesser Seal and Modern scriptions.

The coupling of the signs for *son* and *hsi* "connection, continuous, a line or string", was evidently held to be enough to indicate posterity, the much desiderated succession of offspring. The character abounds on Bronzes, and is found fairly often on the Honan Relics, where, however, other Types destined to future obsolescence are oftener present. Thus we have in Lo's *Yin Hsü Shu Ch'i Hou Pien*, 下, p. 14, , and  in H. 107 of my collection.

孫 *Sun* "Grandson". Second Type 

So far as I am aware this Type, which is nothing but the normal Type lessened by 子, has not been observed by any

other student, Oriental or Western, yet six examples occur in my own collection. They appear thus :—



And reading from left to right these are *sun tzŭ*, *sun tzŭ*, *tzŭ sun*, *to sun*, *ch'an sun*, and *sun tzu*, in English "Grandsons and sons", "Sons and grandsons", "Many grandsons", "Ch'an's grandson", "Grandsons and sons"; and in modern writing the 1st, 2nd, and 6th are 孫 子, the 3rd *tzŭ sun*, the 4th 多 孫, and the 5th 僝 孫.

It is a curious and, to the poor drudge toiling amid this dusty ossuary, an irritating fact that, where difficulties abound on every side, a seemingly needless confusion should have been created by using this figure of 8, at one time for 玄 *hsüan* "sombre", at another for 午 *wu*, the 7th of the Duodenary Cycle, and at another for 孫 *sun* "grandson". Yet so it is.

孫 *Sun* "Grandson". Third Type 

About the equivalence of this long obsolete figure to the later 孫 *sun* there can be no doubt. Yet whether we examine the more elaborate variants like the one above and the first four others below, or the more simplified designs such as the second small group of four also shown below, it is hard to detect more than a very crude conception of a human embryo seen frontally, and freely treated as regards details. Some of the examples rather suggest a goblin seen in a nightmare, others have a toad-like outline, and others, again, particularly those on the Honan Relics, recall a scarabæan beetle minus one pair of legs. But nearly always, when this type occurs on the older Bronzes (but not always

on the Honan Bones), it is as the second in the group 子孫 *tzŭ sun* "sons and grandsons", and is then preceded and surmounted by the figure  (our Third Type of 子 *tzŭ* "son"). Oftener than not, this upper figure is drawn so as to bestride and almost to surround his embryonic descendant.

Although this close proximity of the embryonic body of the lower element to the legs of the upper figure is, physiologically speaking, impossible, and one of those "facts that are not so", yet it may be defended if taken after the Chinese manner as a proleptic symbol of offspring as yet unborn, but potentially existing in the loins of a progenitor.



孫 *Sun* "GRANDSON". FOURTH TYPE,

usually , sometimes 

(It is to be noted that this character, alike in archaic and recent times, is used also for a word now pronounced *hsün*, meaning "to withdraw, give place to", and now written 遜. We shall see why this is a material fact.)

This expressive figure appears occasionally in the Honan Relics, but much oftener in an archaic formula very frequent on the older Bronzes, and consisting apparently (and in most cases, I believe, actually) of three words. It presents exceptional difficulties. These arise not merely from the fact that the first member of the formula has not yet been convincingly determined and its modern equivalent ascertained, but because an even more perplexing and unexpected obstacle is disclosed, since the discovery of the Honan Relics, to accepting all the examples of the formula as being identical.

There follow here three from the thirty-nine I have extracted and copied from the nine volumes of the *Chün Ku Lu Chin Wên.*



The commonly accepted view of this ancient formula is rendered in modern writing by 析 子 孫 *hsi tzŭ sun*, a phrase taken to be desiderative of the perpetuation of male descendants. And whatever may be the real equation of the first of the three characters (析), such, no doubt, is the general import of the sentence. And where the latter is part of an inscription long enough to require to be written in more than one column, these columns are usually made of equal vertical length. Consequently, with few and inconsiderable exceptions, they severally contain the same number of characters. It follows, therefore, that our formula, when present, should occupy the spaces of three characters. And in the great majority of cases it does. Thus in vol. vi. p. 40, of the *Chün Ku Lu Chin Wên* we have an inscription of twenty-six characters in five columns of five characters each, except the second column, which has six. Here the formula fills the last three of the five spaces of the fifth column. So in vol. iv, p. 27, in an eight-character legend in two columns, the formula is the last three of the four in the second column. Numerous other instances in the same volume may be seen to the same effect. I have rather emphasized the point because one Chinese scholar, Mr. Ting Shan, 丁 山, has recently essayed to show that this formula consists not of three but of a single character, namely, in modern writing, 冀 *chi*, one of the Nine Chou or Regions of ancient China.[1]

[1] In an elaborate essay in vol. i, part 2, pp. 233-249, of *Academia Sinica*, which I have carefully read and in many ways admired, but I am quite unable to accept his conclusion.

We must, then, in view of the large majority of the recorded instances, admit the triplicity of the formula. But in the course of extracting and copying the thirty-nine examples from the *Chün Ku Lu Chin Wên* I could not fail to note that in the simplicity of this triplicity lay, as it were, a certain implicity of duplicity in a minority of cases, an ambiguity affecting the primitive construction and intention of the lowermost character, the Type of 孫 *sun*, now being examined. For what are we to think when we look at such groups as Figs. 2 and 3 above? Why should the little upper figure be drawn on so much smaller a scale than the lower, and why so nearly integrated and incorporated in it? Does this minority group, in fact, really represent not the two words *tzŭ sun* "sons and grandsons", but the single word *sun* "grandson"? And, further, why, in any case, does a male figure, with arms raised above his head, stand for *grandson*? And why, if this is really so, should a small infantile and insignificant figure represent "son" and a large, adult, and gesticulating personage indicate "grandson"? These are points which seem to me to demand explanation. And, as often elsewhere, the Honan Find has provided the materials in which I venture to believe I have come upon the clue not discerned by any other investigators.[1] And, indeed, it cannot be deemed one that at once leaps to the eyes.

We have to note that the Honan Relics provide examples of all four Types of 孫 *sun* "grandson", and that of the fourth Type, the more common variant  is used only in that sense, while of the five instances of the rarer variant combining two figures in one complex, one has too defective a context to be useful, one is followed by the obscure words 不其乎來 *pu ch'i hu lai*, but the three remaining examples

[1] However, this must be qualified to the extent that Mr. Tadasuke Takada cites four instances of Type Four, second variant, from Lo Chên-yü's *Yin Hsü Shu Ch'i*, and gives them, which Lo does not, under his entry 孫 *sun*, but he does not give the explanation I put forward.

(including that shown in Fig. 3, Plate II) represent the word "retiring, withdrawing", now pronounced *hsün* and written 遜, which as used in the *Ch'un Ch'iu* is, Legge remarks,[1] "a euphemism for—to flee."

And it is curious that it should be in this less common sense, and ampler composition, that is to be found the true genesis of the character *sun* "grandson". Lo Chên-yü, in his *Y.H.S.K.K.S.*, p. 68, after citing four examples, among his unequated forms, adds the note: "depicts a man carrying on his neck and shoulders a small child," but goes no further.

Now my explanation of this old character is based, I think, not on fancy but on infancy. To my way of thinking, we see before us the joyous gesture of a happy father or grandfather hoisting aloft a delighted child in those moments of one-quarter panic three-quarters ecstasy familiar to children and their nurses by the expressive interjection "Upsidaisy!" And if that is so, we have the paradox that the adult figure with raised arms was *not* originally meant for the grandson, nor the little form here surmounting it meant for the son, but the two as grouped together in their relative positions were a diagram of a man holding up his own son (and his father's grandson), and thus *together* indicating grandson.

Let me add in conclusion an example of 孫 *sun* noteworthy for two reasons, one that it exhibits a sabotaged disguise and contraction of this same Type, and the other that it occurs in the original sense of "grandson", and not in the borrowed use of "withdrawing". It forms the second character in the phrase  *tzŭ sun* on a Cowrie, H. 289.

It may be that here and there a reader may find points of interest or curiosity in the foregoing essay, but as was foretold in the opening of this paper, what he will *not* find is simplicity, it is a quality that this ancient race neither appreciates nor displays.

[1] *Chinese Classics*, vol. v, pt. 2, p. 900.

Supplementary Note

On p. 79 of the foregoing paper, reference was made to two inscriptions occurring on the bone fragments of the Honan Find which merit a more extended description and comment than could be given to them there. One of them is in my own collection (H. 364), Fig. 3 on Plate II, and the other is shown in Lo Chên-yü's *Yin Hsü Shu Ch'i*, *chüan* 7, p. 2. They are almost, but not quite, duplicates, and are dated the same day, *Kuei-ch'ou* 癸丑, the 50th of the Cycle of Sixty. The latter appears again in Lo's *Yin Hsü Shu Ch'i Tai Wên Pien*, or "Chapter of Characters from the Waste of Yin awaiting investigation", p. 4. It is also cited and commented on by Mr. Tadasuke Takada in his *Ku Chou P'ien*, *chüan* 70, p. 7, under the character 孫 *sun*.

Each of these short legends provokes comment and suggests certain conjectures, the confirmation or disproof of which must be left for the future. Meantime, it is necessary to transcribe into modern writing, so far as that is possible, the text of each, leaving two or three unidentified or disputed characters in their original form. As Mr. Takada has given a transcription of the latter example, which in one point differs from my own, I reproduce his transcription also below. First shall be given my No. H. 364, which runs: 癸丑卜殼貞遜及[illegible]方. *kuei ch'ou pu k'o chêng hsün chi Jung fang*. Of this I propose the following tentative rendering: "On the day *kuei-ch'ou* divined by the tortoise-shell as to bandits, inquiring whether (they) would retire as far as the Jung country."

This is a rendering that may perhaps claim to have tentativeness without timidity, and must be defended by arguments whose aim is to be persuasive not peremptory.

And the first point that may be questioned is the rendering of 殼 *k'o* by the English word *bandits*, in Chinese 寇 *k'ou*. It is, of course, a conjecture, and I admit rather a bold one. I do not forget the ingenious proposal of one of the editors of

Academia Sinica, Mr. Tung Tso-pin, who sees in this and some five other words often recurring in comparable passages the names or designations of certain official diviners who, he supposes, used to come on duty at successive intervals. Almost he had persuaded me, but in the end the hypothesis seemed to me not quite convincing. It appears reasonable to regard the words that intervene so constantly in the opening clause of these entries on the Honan Bones, between the 卜 *pu* "to divine by tortoise-shell", and 貞 *chêng* "to make inquiry", as the subject of divination, the topic on which guidance from above was urgently needed. And such a topic was certainly that of Bandits and their movements. But it may be objected, neither the character *k'o* nor its numerous compounds are homophones of *k'ou*, nor have any of them the recorded meaning of "bandits" to justify such a rendering in the present case. However, that is not quite correct, as we see in the character 彀 *kou* "to draw a bow to the full" a compound of *k'o* which *is* a homophone (the aspirate is negligible). Nor is that all. Kanghsi's Dictionary, near the end of its entry under 殻 *k'o*, gives its exceptional or rhyming sound as 音 寇 *yin k'ou* "sounded *k'ou*". And my conjecture is that the character now pronounced *k'o* not only had the sound of *k'ou* (whatever that may have been in Yin times) but also its *sense*, or, otherwise put, was the then usual way of writing the word *k'ou* "bandit". But if we reject the bandit reading, whom can we imagine to be making the inquiry about retiring or withdrawing ? Surely not the Yin sovereign himself. Then who else ? Whereas if invaders or armed men had been giving trouble, this is just the question that would urgently demand an answer.

The character 孫 (now 遜) *hsün*, when meaning "to retire" where quoted in Chinese dictionaries and glossaries is, so far as I can find, always followed by 于 *yü* "to", but 及 *ch* "as far as" is the word found in both the inscriptions under examination.

And now I must face criticism on another and more daring

conjecture or guess, in reading the form  as the ancient character for 戎 *Jung*. This obsolete, conspicuous, and very individual form is frequently met on the Honan Relics, and is mostly followed by the word 方 *fang* "region" or "country", showing that the previous word (whatever it is) represents some ethnic name. Lo Chên-yü on pp. 96–8 of his *Yin Hsü Shu Ch'i K'ao Shih* prints thirteen instances of the form with its contexts in modern script, but with facsimiles of this and some other unidentified characters. Of these thirteen, nine are followed by 方 *fang*, four are not, but are preceded by 伐 *fa* "to smite". Other ethnic names followed by 方 *fang* seen on the Honan Relics are 夷 *i*, the *I* tribes, 土 *t'u*, the indigenes (perhaps the Tunghus). , and , unidentified characters. But what is certainly strange is that neither here nor elsewhere among these oracular archives do we recognize the names of either the 狄 *Ti* or the 戎 *Jung* tribes. It is difficult to believe that there really is no mention of either of these notorious disturbers of the early Chinese peace, who were also their neighbours. And there is one interesting inscription of some length, which is transcribed by Lo Chên-yü (see his p. 98 *ubi supra*), from which I cite the following relevant clause: 告 曰 土 方 征 于 我 東 鄙 (?) 二 邑  方 亦 牧 我 西 鄙 田, *kao yüeh t'u fang chêng yü wo tung pi* (?) *erh i* (Jung) *fang i mu wo hsi pi t'ien*, (in English) "Announced the attack by the Native tribes on (?), two cities of our Eastern frontier, and the harrying by the Jung tribes of the fields of our Western frontier."

These , who are here said to have harried the fields on "our Western frontier", will be, if my conjecture is right, some of those Western Jung whose country was to the west of the Yin "Empire".

It would be idle, of course, to pretend that there are no objections to this identification. If the above form was in general use to write the name of Jung, why should it not have survived into the Lesser Seal and modern writing? The needed modification would have been easy, and would have resulted in a character closely resembling 昌 *ch'ang* "brilliant".

There the matter must be left for the time. The second inscription, that from Lo's *Yin Hsü Shu Ch'i* (ch. vii, p. 2, recto), being so nearly the same as that on H. 364, need not detain us long. At the end it is probably incomplete, but we can read the following: 癸丑卜  貞遜及  方, *kuei-ch'ou pu* (?) *chêng hsün chi Jung fang*, which I should render, "On the day *kuei-ch'ou* divined by the tortoise-shell as to ?, inquiring whether (they) would retire as far as the Jung country." The fourth character remains unknown, though Tung Tso-pin treats this also as the name of one of the official diviners. In my view, however, it would prove to be some term analogous to the *k'ou* "bandits" of the previous inscription.

Mr. Takada in *chüan* 70, p. 7, of his *Ku Chou P'ien* cites this same legend (under the character 孫 *sun*) with the same modern version, with one exception, but that involves a most surprising, indeed astonishing ascription. Where I write, as above, *one* character , he writes two, 丁 𢀈 *ting tzŭ* (which in his view represents the *Shuo Wên's chou wen* form of 子 *tzŭ*, but as there is no such Cycle couplet, 丁 子 *ting tzŭ* would have to be read 丁 巳 *ting ssŭ*, which does exist). This disyllabic value he gives to  by cutting it in half horizontally, reading  as 丁 *ting* and  as one of the much contracted variants of the *chou wên* version of 子 *tzŭ*, we may suppose some such a form as .

But the original Bone character occurs frequently in the Honan inscriptions, and always to other observers than Mr. Takada, as a *single* character. Furthermore, what possible meaning could the expression 丁 子 (or 丁 巳) 方 *ting tzŭ* (or *ting ssŭ*) *fang* "the country of *ting tzŭ*" have ?

It is quite possible that my conjecture about the Jung may be proved wrong, but if so, I am sure that it will never, never be because Mr. Takada's view is shown to be right.

All the more agreeable, therefore, is it to find that the great Japanese scholar and myself concur as to the identity of the cheerful gentleman holding up an infant in his arms with the modern character 孫 *sun* "grandson".

Tibetan Documents concerning Chinese Turkestan. VII: Government and Social Conditions.

. General; B. Documents (1, Officials; 2, Classes and persons; 3, Agriculture and crops, registration, taxation, survey; 4, Travel and animals; 5, Objects and presents; 6, Burial and mourning and other ceremonial; 7, Medicine; 8, Law; 9, Writing and letters).

By F. W. THOMAS

N regard to civil conditions in Chinese Turkestan the documents are not much more widely informative than regard to other matters. The states along the northern ade route, Karashahr, Kuca, Aksu, Kashgar, although from out A.D. 675 they were dominated (not indeed occupied) by e Tibetans, appear to escape all mention; and this is the more grettable as these states would seem from the culture jects recovered by archæological research to have enjoyed rather fuller development of material civilization than those uth of the desert. Their natural resources were not inferior, ey were aligned along a more profitable route of trade id communication, they were less exposed to encroachment the desert; their archæological remains are more extensive id better preserved. To these states, and to the Wu-sun ople of the Tian-shan valleys, we have perhaps—unless the hu chief (*Khu Maṅ-po-rje*) of the Tibetan *Chronicle* is ally the Khu ruler of Kao-chang—not a single reference. he twin states of "Anterior" and "Posterior" Chü-shih, . Turfan-Kao-chang and Gu-chen at the extreme east of e Tian-shan, do indeed seem to be indicated as goal of hostile peditions (1931, pp. 821 sqq.). As has been made clear by havannes in *Ancient Khotan*, pp. 533–6, and Sir Aurel ein, *Innermost Asia*, pp. 579–587, they maintained a ecarious existence nearly to the end of the eighth century

A.D., the Tibetans failing, despite their occupation of Kan-su, to secure possession of them either by diplomatic proposals to China [1] or by force until the year A.D. 790.

Of the more southern states, Yarkand, Karghalik, Khotan, Shan-shan, the two former are hardly more than mentioned in the documents (1930, pp. 288–291). But concerning Khotan and Shan-shan, and concerning the Śa-cu region of Chinese Kan-su, we have a certain amount of information. In the case of Khotan the allusions in the documents are supplemented, not only by the particulars recorded in Chinese works, but also by general impressions (largely of religious decadence) conveyed by the ecclesiastical annals and other literary texts which we have translated. For the Śa-cu region, where the conditions were mainly Chinese, but the Tibetans were during the period A.D. 781–850 politically dominant and long afterwards naturally influential as representing Buddhism, we have from Chinese sources general and also local information, the latter carefully edited in some valuable publications by Dr. Lionel Giles.[2] For the Shan-shan kingdom, extending from Lop-nor westwards as far as Cer-cen and (say) Niya, the Chinese supply valuable geographical and historical indications, of which the latest summary is contained in Dr. Giles' third paper noted *supra*. On the Tibetan side we have the mass of documents extracted from the fort of Mīrān and a number of references in the manuscript *Chronicle*. The area being practically identical with that covered by the Kharoṣṭhī documents of much (*c.* 400–600 years) earlier date, and points of contact being inevitable, it may be worth while to institute a slight comparison of the two groups of records. In number the Tibetan (about 1,500)

[1] Bushell, *JRAS.*, 1880, pp. 453–4; Chavannes, *Tou-Kiue Occidentaux*, pp. 179–182.

[2] "Tun Huang Lu: Notes on the *District* of Tun-huang": *JRAS.*, 1914, pp. 703–728; 1915, pp. 41–7; "The Census of Tun-huang", *T'oung-pao*, xvi, 1915, pp. 468–488; "A Chinese Geographical Text of the Ninth Century", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, vi, pp. 825–846.

have the advantage; but in extent of matter, being mostly scrappy or very fragmentary, they are considerably inferior. Of the chief classes of the Kharoṣṭhī documents, (*a*) royal rescripts, (*b*) registers of persons and objects, (*c*) legal agreements, (*d*) semi-official and unofficial correspondence, the first is wanting in the Tibetan collection (there being no ruling king), which on its part presents a large number of items (lists, visiting cards, etc.) connected with the soldiery. The most sweeping difference between the two classes of documents consists in the fact that the Kharoṣṭhī records are native in character, while those in Tibetan are the work of foreigners administering an annexed country and not primarily interested in the (Ḫa-ža) population. This tends to enfeeble the light which they shed upon internal conditions, except in so far as those conditions had been introduced by the Tibetans themselves.

As regards Khotan, the new information may be briefly summarized. This state, of which the population was estimated about B.C. 30 at 19,300 and about A.D. 100 at 83,000, must during that interval have effected its recorded absorption of certain minor adjacent principalities.[1] Its eastern frontier was at Phye-ma, or at times somewhat further east, at Niña, where it adjoined Shan-shan, which on its part had extended westward by similar absorption of minor intervening states. In early days it had engaged in local wars with Yarkand, Kashgar, and even Kuca; but its constant rival in later centuries had been Shan-shan, whose Tu-yu[k]-hun conquerors had in A.D. 445 wrought great havoc in Khotan (1926, p. 312). Like all the other principalities of Chinese Turkestan, it had been normally under domination either by the Chinese, or by invading peoples from the north, Hiung-nu, Juan-Juan, and Turks. But this domination was not of an interfering character; and so the lineage of local kings, though some of them received a surname of perhaps

[1] Grenard in Dutreuil de Rhins, *La Haute Asie*, ii, p. 61; followed by A. Hermann, *Die alten Seidenstrassen*, p. 76.

Juan-Juan origin (1931, pp. 831–2) and one of them was subject to the Turks [1] and some later ones had Tibetan names (*Asia Major*, ii, p. 252), is said to have persisted unbroken. A division of the country into five districts (the capital, Mdo-lo and Me-skar, Kam-śed, Ku-śed, and Koṅ-śed) has been traced.[2] But it would be difficult to select the "five large cities" (they would perhaps include Kilian, Guma, Phye-ma, and Niya (?)), which according to the Chinese [3] it contained. On the other hand, we have found (1930, pp. 50 sqq.) in Tibetan times abundant evidence of a division of the area into parishes (*tshar*) [4] and also numerous names of places either belonging or adjacent to the country. The "five towns" which composed the capital included, no doubt, the "Nectarean City" (*Dnar-ldan*), the "Hog's-colour city" (*Phag-gi-mdshon*), and the "Old City" (*Rñiṅ-ma*) named in the *Prophecy* of Vimalaprabhā. Was Khu-sen "the western city", "the city where the king resides," a fourth? There are several indications (*Asia Major*, ii, pp. 255–7) that the country as a whole bore a name *Kuśala*, rendered in Tibetan as *Dge-ba*, the capital also being *Kuśalī* or *Kuśalavatī* (Tibetan *Dge-ba-can*).

The celebrity of Khotan (according to Firdausī's *Shāh-nāmah*, "the most famous of cities") rested upon its religious sanctity and its innumerable and splendid monasteries and shrines. There was some trace of Mazdaism,[5] possibly a survival from ancient times; and references to unbelieving kings and nobles (*A. Khotan*, p. 585) may be directed at them among others. But the country, "the pocket estate of the Buddhas of the Three Times," was overwhelmingly Buddhist, partly Māhāsamghika, partly Sarvāstivādin, but in later times

[1] Abel Remusat, *Ville de Khotan*, p. 35.

[2] *Asia Major*, ii, pp. 259–260.

[3] Abel-Remusat, op. cit., pp. 19, 28, 30–1.

[4] Also a few districts in the vicinity of the capital with names ending in *-ts* (1930, p. 70).

[5] Grenard, op. cit., pp. 58, 68; Chavannes, *Tou-Kiue Occidentaux*, p. 125.

mainly Mahāyānist.[1] Apparently (ibid., pp. 581–3) there was constant communication with the Buddhists of India, especially of Kashmir. The clerics, male and female, numbered, as estimated at one period, over 11,000 (ibid., p. 583), the large monasteries over 110.[2] The communities owned gardens and pleasances and large estates and water-rights. The rulers and their families, men and women, were attended by pious "confessors" or "chaplains" (*kalyāṇa-mitra*, ibid., pp. 581–3), under whose influence they were lavish in the foundation and endowment of shrines, monasteries, and nunneries. It was not unusual for persons of royal or noble blood to enter the Saṃgha, winning for the families the title of "Bodhi-sattva lineage".

The manners of the Khotanese were marked by mildness and ceremoniousness, which had, it was held, a humanizing effect upon foreign visitors and conquerors (ibid., p. 585). Hiuan-Tsang credits the people with politeness, justice, and a love of literature and arts, which opinion, confirmed by the *T'ang-shu* (Chavannes, op. cit., pp. 125–6), need not be, as Grenard suggests (op. cit., p. 67), due to Buddhist partiality. The sanctity of the country attracted sightseers and pilgrims, bringing riches to the shrines and to the peaceful and contented population. The local manufacture of silk, carpets and felt, the jade workings, and the mining for gold and copper in the mountains to the south brought merchants. Like all the other regions of Turkestan, Khotan was celebrated also for its fruit. In the documents there are some references to presents of silk (*men-tri*, °*hdri*) or carpets or fruit, purchase of turquoises, and so on (1930, pp. 60, etc.). The phrase "Khotan provisions" (*Li-brgyags*) recurs with, apparently, some special sense. One of the constant troubles of the country was incursions of freebooters from Tāshkurghān and

[1] *A. Khotan*, p. 585, and Fa-hian, trans. Legge, p. 16. So, too, Hiuan-Tsang.

[2] Hiuan-Tsang's figures are 5,000 and 100; Fa-hian says "even several myriads".

the mountains to the south, preying upon the merchant caravans (*A. Khotan*, pp. 31, 521). We have quoted a letter from a Khotan king to the Tibetan authorities, wherein an investigation of robberies is reported, together with a reference to a donation, or fine, of fruit (1930, pp. 60 sqq.).

A feature, still noticeable, of Khotan life was the prominence of feminine interests and the freedom of women. In the religious sphere their participation was represented by numerous nunneries, founded in many cases by queens or princesses, who had feminine spiritual advisers (*kalyāṇa-mitra*) and themselves not infrequently "took the veil". The *Prophecy* of Vimalaprabhā (eighth century A.D.) proclaims perhaps the first recorded religious mission to women, inaugurated by a royal lady. A particular custom was seclusion during seven days after the death of a husband.[1]

We need not dwell upon features of Khotan life already known from Chinese sources, the religious car-processions and festivals, the fondness for music, the erection of tall funeral monuments (*stūpas*) in front of the (widely spaced) dwellings. Some of these are mentioned in our texts, which also speak of religious drama (*note*, 1925, pp. 498 sqq.). Nor can we treat of the characteristics of the popular religion, in which a Buddhist mantle was thrown over a great amount of earlier superstition, whether indigenous (cult of "Nāgas" of localities and rivers and of demons, *Rākṣasas* and *Rākṣasīs*) or imported from India (worship of relics, vestments, and sacred footprints, use of charms, *mantras*, and magico-psychological phrases, *dhāraṇīs*, orally or in script, as amulets and inscriptions on banners and buildings). The pre-Buddhist religion of Chinese Turkestan, akin to Shamanism and the Tibetan *Bon*, is a subject upon which Grenard (op. cit., pp. 241–3) has some very just observations, but which is not yet ripe for discussion.

[1] Similarly in Karashahr (Grenard, Dutreuil de Rhins, *La Haute Asie*, ii, p. 246).

The government was of the personal kind, with ministers (no doubt, nobles) holding office at the king's pleasure, with occasional tragedies and troubles during minorities (*Ancient Khotan*, p. 582) and much ecclesiastical influence. As has frequently been pointed out, the Chinese, with their policy of subordinating foreign princes by conferring upon them titles of honour, awarded to some of the Khotan (Kashgar, etc.) kings the rank of *amochih*, in the Tibetan texts *a-ma-ca*, representing, as Professor Lévi was the first to remark,[1] the Sanskrit *amātya* "councillor". From the documents (1930, pp. 72–5) we see that the title was borne also, in course of time, by non-royal persons in Khotan, and the same is evident from the local *Chronicle* (*Ancient Khotan*, pp. 582–3). There is no evidence that in Khotan the title carried official functions. In regard to local administration and to law and justice we have no hints. But there was a regular assessment (*rtsis*) for purpose of revenue, and the supply of water was controlled.

The Tibetans, when, in the last half of the eighth century A.D., they occupied the country and established the fort of Mazār-Tāgh, left the general administration in the hands of the native king. There were, it is true, numerous military posts established by them in the country, especially on heights in the mountains (1930, p. 251), and even in the royal citadel a guard may have been posted (ibid., p. 65). But the presence of a general (*dmag-dpon*, p. 76) and of a minister of Inner Affairs (*naṅ-rje-po*, pp. 77–9) in the capital may have been merely occasional. The Tibetan headquarters must have been in Śiṅ-śan (Mazār-Tāgh), whither urgent dispatches were sometimes sent from the capital and persons are recalled (1930, pp. 78, 83). The supplies demanded from the Khotanese were based upon an assessment and received in bulk (1930, p. 81). The Khotanī authorities (*Li-mnan*) in Śiṅ-śan and elsewhere collected their own dues from the tenants in detail

[1] *Journal Asiatique*, XI, v, 1915, p. 191.

(M. Tāgh, a. iii, 0062). Khotanī persons (*Li*) were employed by the Tibetans, mostly, it seems, in subordinate capacities. Some served in the army, though we are not aware of any distinct Khotanī regiments. Naturally there were business transactions and legal agreements (p. 60). It seems that the natives were not esteemed by their rude conquerors (p. 278); there are several references to condign punishment of individuals, or even groups (pp. 49, 284).

The heads of Tibetan administration in Khotan were the *nan-rje-pos* ("Interior Lords") resident in Mazār-Tāgh, of whom in two letters (one quoted p. 66) three are addressed jointly. Presumably one was usually the leader (*rtse*, p. 90); but in regard to a distribution of functions we have no indication. The office of *nan-rje-po*, as also the titles *žan-lon* and *rtse-rje*, recurs in the case of Shan-shan, and may be further considered in that connection.

It is probable that the Khotanis, whose proficiency in literature, as well as their linguistic singularity, is recognized by the Chinese,[1] maintained a higher educational average than did the other states of Turkestan. It is therefore interesting to connect the story (*Asia Major*, ii, pp. 251–2) of the origination of the language, as taught to herdsmen children, with what is stated by Sir Aurel Stein[2] concerning unexpected smattering of education among children of nomad herdsmen along the Keriya river. For the rest, the Chinese noted[3] a greater likeness of feature to themselves in the people of Khotan than was the case in other states; and the native Khotan *Chronicle* remarks that "the manners of the laity agree for the most part with China".

The Śa-cu region being a part of Chinese Kan-su and accordingly a subject of much precise information and of special memoirs, of which three have been translated by Dr. Lionel Giles, the particulars ascertainable from Tibetan

[1] Beal, *Si-yu-ki*, ii, p. 309.
[2] *Ancient Khotan*, p. 143, n. 25.
[3] Grenard, op. cit., ii, p. 31.

sources are perhaps of secondary interest. The Tibetans seem to have commenced their attacks on the city about A.D. 676; in A.D. 727 they captured Kva-cu Siṅ-caṅ (Tsin-ch'ang ?). It is very difficult to follow the vicissitudes of the struggle in this area, which must have been constantly overrun by the Tibetans; but from A.D. 781–851 [1] the region must have been definitely under Tibetan rule, except that during an interval of eleven years (A.D. 809–819 (?)) the city of Śa-cu was held for the Chinese.[2] The Tibetan information may relate mainly to the period A.D. 781–851, although the particulars connected with Buddhist monasteries would be consistent with a later date.

During this period the region seems to have been under the rule of a Dragon (*Ḫbrug*) dynasty, mentioned by the Chinese as Lung [3] and stated to have originated in Karashahr. The two Tibetan letters quoted *supra* (1927, p. 67), relating to delivery of requisitioned grain in bulk, seem to show that the Ḫbrug chief, from whom one of them emanates, retained the internal administration of his country. He was therefore in a position similar to that of the king of Khotan; near the end of the eighth century A.D. a king The-bo of Śa-cu, who would be a Ḫbrug, received a mission from his Khotan compeer, with a letter which has recently been published.[4] It seems likely that the Tibetans, as their invasions penetrated further into China, took over the administration of the Śa-cu country. For in other letters (pp. 808 sqq.) relating to requisition of grain we find mention of a division into Thousand-districts, a non-Chinese and specially Tibetan [5] organization, derived ultimately from

[1] L. Giles, *JRAS.*, 1914, pp. 705–6.

[2] Bushell, *JRAS.*, 1880, p. 514: cf. *supra*, 1927, pp. 815–16.

[3] L. Giles, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, vol. vi, pp. 844–5.

[4] *Two Medieval Documents from Tun-huang*, by F. W. Thomas and Sten Konow, Oslo, 1929.

[5] It is not implied that prior to the Tibetan occupation no "Thousand-districts" existed in Shan-shan. Elsewhere I hope to show that the *tomga* of the Kharoṣṭhī documents was really a *stoṅ-dpon*.

India. The districts named are Rgod-sar, Stoṅ-sar, Spyi-leogs, Sñiṅ-tsoms, Tshas-stobs, probably a complete list. Their geographical disposition is not evident; but Tshas-stobs may contain the name of a Tsha tribe, connected with a Tsha-śod district in north-eastern Tibet, and Rgod-sar, which *prima facie* may mean "New Rgod", was probably the most westerly, adjoining the Rgod District of the Shan-shan area. We have given (1927, pp. 71 sqq.) a long dossier of appeals in connection with an appointment to the office of *stoṅ-dpon* in this area.

Concerning towns in the Śa-cu region it is difficult to be precise, since from the Tibetan documents it is often not clear whether places there named belong to that region or to the adjacent parts of Tibet or to more easterly parts of Kan-su. Clearly we can leave out of account *Lem-cu* (Liang-chou) with Bog-yas, Daṅ-to-kun, which is, no doubt, T'ien-te Kun[1] on the bend of the Yellow River, and the places noted 1927, p. 816, as in Skyi. Disregarding some minor localities, we are left with practically only Kva-cu, Śa-cu, Mkhar-tsan (= Khar-tsa-cin, 1927, pp. 78 sqq.), 'Im-ka-cin, Sil-gu-cin, and Khu-ñe Mon-gaṅs, and residences Hi-ma-te (p. 825), Ma-ko-cin and 'O-dol-cu (p. 78). Of these Mkhar-tsan was a great city. Kva-cu and Śa-cu are well known from Chinese sources, and we need only add that the mention of *tshi-ši* and *tu-tug* (pp. 816-17) as titles of their magistrates seems to indicate that the Tibetans did not modify their administration, the titles being Turco-Chinese. Concerning the other places we can add nothing to what is stated *supra*, 1927, pp. 83-4.

The other information supplied by the Tibetan writings concerning this Śa-cu region is partly of singular interest. The legal agreements indeed (1927, pp. 813–14) are similar to those adduced from Khotan and Shan-shan. But other records are of a kind not exampled elsewhere. There are lists (1927,

[1] L. Giles, op. cit., p. 834 (T'ien-tê Ch'êng); the *Thiantê-Kiun* of Marco Polo, ed. Cordier, i, p. 286.

pp. 826 sqq.) of personal (both masculine and feminine) names and clan-names or surnames, throwing light upon the system of nomenclature and upon the sociology; lists (1928, pp. 66–9) of numerous shrines, probably some of the "Thousand Buddhas" of Tun-huang, with accounts of lands whereof they enjoyed the revenues; particulars of donations, of oil, etc. (pp. 87–90), for their service; references to their slaves (*lha-ḥbaṅs* "god's servant"); an extensive description (1927, pp. 832 sqq.) of the operations of the monasteries in supplying manuscript copies of Buddhist canonical texts, Tibetan and Chinese, for the use of city libraries, etc., in procuring the labour and materials (paper and ink), in controlling the workers and providing for their rations, in totalling and dispatching the inscribed rolls, and in obtaining payment; also in inspecting and reporting upon deterioration in the library collections. A growing intimacy with Tibet is illustrated by a very remarkable compilation (1928, pp. 70–87) of "messages" of felicitation, presented by the cities of Kva-cu and Mkhar-tsan (in conjunction with other authorities) upon the occasion of the foundation of a great monastery in the vicinity of the Koko-nor lake, to commemorate the pact of peace made between China, Tibet, and other powers in the years A.D. 783 and 822.

The two temples Leṅ-ho-si and Pho-kvaṅ-si, mentioned 1927, p. 829, we are not in a position to locate.[1] In regard to the document, 1928, pp. 63–5, containing succession-lists of the heads of certain famous Buddhist seminaries, it may be remarked that it has considerable importance in connection with ecclesiastical history. But the seminaries in question belong evidently in most cases to other provinces, and no one is demonstrably connected with the Śa-cu region.

When we come to the Nob Region, the old Shan-shan kingdom, we might hope, as the administration had been taken over by the Tibetans, to find in the Mīrān documents rather more definite indications of the actual manner of working. And it might be instructive to compare the

[1] Are they the *Ling-hu* and *P'u-kuang* of *Documents Chinois*, pp. 62, 130?

information with what may be elicited from the earlier Kharoṣṭhī documents belonging to the same area. Something indeed may be noted.

The region was divided into Thousand-districts, named respectively Nag-śod, Ḥdzom Upper (*Stod*) and Lower (*Smad*), Rgod Upper and Lower, Rgod-ldiṅ, and Kha-dro.

Of these Rgod, with Rgod-ldiṅ, must, for the reason stated above in connection with Rgod-sar, have been the most easterly. Nag-śod, one of the eighteen Śods reckoned in with Mdo-smad, would be its next neighbour. Kha-dro has a name which may be connected with the *Caḍ'ota* (the Niya site) of the Kharoṣṭhī documents; in which case Ḥdzom would inevitably cover some area in the region of Endere or Cer-cen, and it is perhaps no accident that a regiment or province of "Ḥzom-lom-stod" is named in a sgraffito in Endere fort.[1] In the Kharoṣṭhī documents Cer-cen (Calmadana) is under a Cojhbo (chief ruler) distinct from the Cojhbo of Caḍ'ota.

In each of the Thousand-districts we find mention of "the lord's land" (*rje-źiṅ*), and sometimes of special arrangements for its cultivation. Originally these lands may have been private property of the Ḥa-źa king (*rje*) or of local chiefs, probably the former, since they were administered by the Tibetans. The phrase occurs thrice (ll. 158, 160, 163) in the Tibetan *Chronicle*, but without further indication.

The chief towns named in the documents are Little Nob, Great Nob, Ka-dag, Rtse-thon, and Cer-cen. From the character of the references it appears that Ka-dag was in the same general district as Nob; and this is in accord with the traditional location[2] at three days' journey south of the also ruined city of Lop. Rtse-thon, the *Ch'i-t'un* of the Chinese, was also in that quarter. Hence we have no difficulty in identifying Little and Great Nob together with Ka-dag as the "three towns" (*mkhar-gsum*, 1928, p. 569), and this triad together

[1] *Ancient Khotan*, p. 569.

[2] Forsyth, *Mission to Yarkand*, p. 27. Cf. Grenard, op. cit., iii, p. 147.

with Rtse-thon as the "four towns" (*mkhar-bźi*, p. 571) of Nob. Concerning Byeḫu-liṅ, Sta-gu, etc., see *supra*.

Whether there was a general council for the whole country is not apparent. It seems possible that the region was under the supervision of the council of the Bde region of Mdo-smad, the northern division of the north-east, Mdo, of Tibet. For the system is exhibited in the case of the felicitatory messages cited above, which are from the following in order, (*a*) the authorities of the realm of Mdo-gams (*Khams*), (*b*) the councillors of Bde, (*c*)–(*d*) the cities of Mkhar-tsan and Kva-cu, (*e*) the head of the Phyug-tsams Thousand-district, (*f*) the local people of Ḫbrom-khoṅ. Like Mkhar-tsan and Kva-cu in the Śa-cu region, the towns of Shan-shan may have been immediately under a council (*bkaḫ-ḫgros*, 1927, p. 821, etc.) presiding over the adjacent province of Tibet.

The officials in charge of the Thousand-districts, the *Stoṅ-dpons*, may, like those in the Śa-cu region (1927, pp. 72–9), have been appointed directly by the *Rje-bla* "supreme lord", who would be the Tibetan minister of state, or some deputy. We have a mention also of a *Khri-dpon* "Myriad-commandant", who would be a superior of the *Stoṅ-dpon*, and also of a *Stoṅ-cuṅ* "Minor Thousand", who may have been an inferior colleague. Sometimes we meet with the phrase *dpon-sna*, which may mean either "chief *dpon*" or "the leading *dpons*", as an undefined group.

The functions of the *chaṅ-kyur*, who was plainly a superior official, are not clearly determinable; they may hereafter be determined, since the title may be recognized in literature and is obviously identical with the *caṃkura* of the Kharoṣṭhī documents.[1]

In the case of the towns the officials usually mentioned are the *rtse-rje*, *jo-co*, *naṅ-rje-po*, sometimes in conjunction with councillors (*blon*) or uncle-councillors (*źaṅ-lon*) or to these

[1] See now *Acta Orientalia*, xii, pp. 68–70, where an endeavour is made to prove that *chaṅ-kyur* (*chaṅ-kyir*, *caṅ-khyir*) = *caṃkura* corresponds to Sanskrit *nagara-rakṣa* or *nāgaraka*.

separately. In the Kharoṣṭhī documents the instructions are usually addressed to a *cojhbo* (sometimes plural), often associated with a *ṣoṭhaṃgha*, who may be a police officer and is in charge of granary and toll-stations (*draṅga*), and sometimes with a *toṃgha*, who is concerned with post and transport. It is likely that the Tibetan *rtse-rje* or *jo-co* has taken over the functions of the *cojhbo*, and therefore that the expression *jo-co*, or *rjo-cho*, is in fact identical with *cojhbo*. *Rtse-rje* does not occur in the Tibetan dictionaries, although both its constituents are common : *jo-co* and *co-jo* are also unattested, *jo-bo* and *gtso-bo* being the usual expressions for a "chief" or "lord". As *co* clearly means "chief", since it appears in the phrase *Ḥa-żahi-żaṅ-lon-gyi-gco* (1927, p. 59) "*doyen* of the Ḥa-ża Uncle-councillors", it seems likely that the older *cojhbo*, which was probably only a way of writing *co-zro*, meant "chief-ruler" and *zro* corresponds to Tibetan *rje*, so that the Tibetan *rtse-rje* may be a translation of this title. In the documents we have at times only the form *jo*, which means simply a "chief" or "lord".

The functions of the Councillors (*blon*) are not clearly distinguished ; but we have special titles for some of them, who are designated *naṅ-blon*, *phyi-blon* "councillor for internal, external affairs"[1] and *dgra-blon* "councillor for enemy affairs" : possibly these would be found only in the chief administrative centre. The *żaṅ-lon* "uncle-councillor", i.e. properly an uncle of the king functioning as councillor, is characteristically Tibetan ; but, since we cannot suppose that all the *żaṅ-lons* recorded in Tibet and those who occur rather plentifully in the Turkestan documents are of that quality, it may be conjectured that the designation became hereditary and so acquired a wide extension ; in that case a *żaṅ-lon* would be a councillor who was "of the blood", and perhaps such persons had a title to membership of councils wherever they were residing. In Turkestan the *żaṅ-lons* may

[1] This title occurs, along with *naṅ-blon* "councillor for internal affairs", in the Lha-sa inscriptions (*JRAS.*, 1911, p. 434).

have been *local* nobles; for the Khotan Chronicle mentions them with reference to pre-Tibetan times, and very likely they may be the *Ogus* (Tib. *'a-khu* "uncle", the *'A-gus* of the Ge-sar legend) of the Kharoṣṭhī documents from Shan-shan: see *Acta Orientalia*, xii, pp. 58–9.[1]

Besides these persons of *blon*, or "Councillor", quality we hear of a number of titles of *dpons* or officials. To the *stoṅ-dpons* and *khri-dpons* we have already referred. The *ṅos-dpon*

[1] I must not omit to give reasons for not accepting the view, noticed previously (1927, p. 55), according to which *źaṅ* does not mean "uncle", but is a Chinese designation *shang* "chief". This view is carefully stated in one of Dr. Laufer's extraordinarily learned and valuable papers, *Bird Divination among the Tibetans* (*T'oung-pao*, 1914), pp. 103 sqq., and reinforced in another (ibid., 1916, p. 430). At first sight the argument seems conclusive: Dr. Laufer adduces a number of striking cases where the Tibetan *źaṅ* is represented in Chinese writing by *shang*. But let us first note some scruples: (1) if *źaṅ* were an adjective borrowed from Chinese, we should expect it to occur also in some other connections, whereas it appears only as a separate title or in the combination *źaṅ-lon* "*źaṅ* councillor"; (2) if *źaṅ-lon* means "chief councillor", then the common phrase *źaṅ-lon-chen-po* "great chief councillor" is rather otiose; (3) in the Lha-sa edicts several ministers are called *blon* (or *blon-po*)-*chen-po*, and in some cases *źaṅ* follows, and this is an indication that the *źaṅ* here attaches not to that phrase, but to the personal name which it precedes. All this is smoothed away if we accept Waddell's original explanation (*JRAS.*, 1910, p. 1274) of *źaṅ-lon* as "uncle minister", meaning minister of the blood royal. The employment of *shang* in Chinese as a *transliteration* of *źaṅ* seems to have little bearing on the matter.

But really the most conclusive proof is supplied by some of Dr. Laufer's own examples. Three of these (pp. 74–8) are in the form *naṅ-blon-Mchims-źaṅ* "Interior Councillor Mchims-*źaṅ*", *phyi-blon-Ḫbro-źaṅ* "Exterior Councillor Ḫbro-*źaṅ*". Now *Mchims* and *Ḫbro* are both tribal names, and the form of the expressions is exactly parallel to *Mchims-bza*, *Ḫbro-bza*, *Tse-spoṅ-bza* "Mchims wife", "Ḫbro wife", "Tse-spoṅ wife", meaning [royal] wives from those tribes. Moreover, we have other similar appellations, e.g. *Ma-źaṅ* "maternal uncle" (*Rgyal-rabs*, foll. 32*b*, 5, 33*b*, 1–2, 3, 5 of the India Office copy) and *Sna-nam-źaṅ-daṅ-Rgya-tsha* "Sna-nam uncle and China grandson", meaning that the person, whose name was Lha-snaṅ, was in avuncular relation to the Tibetan royal house and had a Chinese mother; cf. also the *Ḫjaṅ-tsha*-Lha-dbaṅ who was a son of king Khri-lde-gtsug-brtan and had a Ḫjaṅ mother (*JRAS.*, 1928, p. 85). I may also refer to the *Dbon* "nephew" Ḫa-źas noted above (1927, pp. 55–6). Preceding a personal name, *źaṅ* (also *źaṅ-po*, *źaṅ-chen-po*) is too common (1927, pp. 55, 59, 69; 1928, p. 72; 1930, p. 276; 1933, p. 398) to be local.

"warden of a region" would be, no doubt, a person similar to the Indian *anta-pāla*, in charge of the approaches to the city from outside and of border transactions. The *khrims-dpon* "law-officer" is a judge—there was one for Tshal-byi—and possibly he was identical with the *bkah-lun* and *bkah-blon* mentioned 1927, pp. 73, 815; 1928, pp. 582–3.

What was the office of *mgo-non* ("additional, or deputy, head" (?)), to which an appointment is made (1928, p. 586), does not appear. The *yul-mthon* "country overseer" reports in *M.I.* xiii, 12, on the year's levy; probably, like the *yul-gzigs* of *M. Tāgh.* c. ii, 0011, he was a local surveyor. The *rgyal-gzigs*, whose designation translates the Sanskrit *rāja-cakṣus*, was perhaps a general representative of the king's special interests. We find also a *khral-dpon* "tax-master".

In Little Nob there was a person entitled *rtse-bla-dan-rtse-sman* "head lama (?) and head-physician", to whom application is made in M.I. iv. 138 (cf. iv, 60) for a medical prescription. Elsewhere we find a *yul-sman*, "district" or "village physician", who appears in some ceremonial, not strictly medical, connection. Since here we have an appeal to *yul-lha-yul-bdag-dan-sman* "district god, district lord and physician", it seems clear that the persons in question combined religious with medical functions. I think that Dr. Francke was right (*JRAS.*, 1914, pp. 55–6) in suggesting that the documents exhibit traces of the Bon-po religion: see *supra*, p. 90, and compare the observation of Grenard cited *infra*, pp. 107 8.

In connection with legal transactions the old Kharoṣṭhī documents supply particulars of many cases. They may be classified as relating to either offences, or disputes, or agreements, whereof the last-named may in many instances represent the outcome of proceedings under the second. The cases of the first two kinds were in all instances decided either by the local officials, often upon reference through the king himself, or at "the king's gate"; and even matters of the third kind had often been brought to the cognizance of the

officials. There seem to be some clear instances of reference to a court, ecclesiastical or otherwise. From the Tibetan documents we have cited a few cases which happen to include all the three kinds; and here also there seems to be, though not in every instance, official cognizance. In the fact that in two instances (1928, pp. 567, 584) there are indications pointing to a trial in a *grwa-tus*, which is probably an assemblage of an ecclesiastical character (a Buddhist *pariṣad*), we may perhaps find evidence of an extension of clerical influence; it will hardly have been due to the Tibetans, whose Buddhism was still in its infancy. There must have been some persons who acted practically as professional lawyers, since the *rtsig* Lha-rtsa-skyes, like the *divira* Tamaśpa of the Kharoṣṭhī documents, functions in a number of independent instances.

In cases not involving compatriots the Tibetans may very likely have administered not their own code, compiled for the great king Sroṅ-btsan Sgam-po, but the local law or usage so often mentioned in the Kharoṣṭhī. This inference is suggested by citation of the "old town law" (*snoṅ-gyi-mkhar-khrims-rñiṅ*, 1928, pp. 572–3) and ancient custom (*riṅ-lugs*, ibid.). In the case of debts (*bu-lon*) and loans (or renewals of loan) it is usually laid down that in the event of default the person's goods may be summarily seized by any one in rightful possession of the deed (in one case, of the last of three deeds) without any complaint on the part of the defaulter; often the person bound has a guarantor (*kha-ḥdzin* or *khas-len*), who is involved in the obligation. The document terminates with the attestations (seals, signatures, or thumb-marks) of the witnesses (*dpaṅ-po*), often including councillors or other officials, and of the persons bound. A debtor is *skyin-pa* (also "a substitute") and the debt is said to attach (*chags*) to him. A "pledge" is *gtaḥ* (p. 813).

It may here be noted that banishment or exile has always been a feature of Chinese Turkestan. Banished men or refugees (*palāyanaka*) are constantly mentioned in the Kharoṣṭhī documents, and the Tibetan equivalent, *spyugs*,

has been exemplified *supra*, 1927, p. 819. Modern Turkestanī has preserved the Sanskrit term in its *palā-māq* "to exile"; and Niya and Cer-cen have been used in modern times as convict settlements.[1] The Chinese sent convicted persons to serve in Turkestan[2]; and we have had (1928, p. 556) an instance of a Tibetan similarly treated.

Concerning the occupations and lives of the people not much information is to be expected from the documents. Even in modern times trades are not numerous in Chinese Turkestan, and the Shan-shan kingdom was perhaps the state most undeveloped economically. Some copper- and gold-mining and jade-working, leather-work, felt and ropes, carpentry, building and pottery, these perhaps comprise all that is ever mentioned as industry practised in the Nob region, except of course what was connected with the tillage of the land. The documents cannot be said to refer to any of the industries or to persons following them, except in the case of cup-making, (*supra*, 1928, p. 556) copper, and agriculture.

Breeding and letting of animals (camels, horses, asses) for purpose of transport must have provided part-time or whole-time occupation for a fair number of persons. The troubles of such a *rmaṅ-rogs* or *rta-rogs* (= *arivaġu* in the Kharoṣṭhī documents and figured in a drawing, *Innermost Asia*, pl. vii) are recounted in a letter quoted 1930, p. 290. Among minor occupations we find mention of couriers or runners (*baṅ-chen* or *rkn-lu[g]s*), porters (*ltaṅ-sogs*), bag-men (*sgyeḫu-ga*), and wood-gatherers (*śiṅ-thun*). The *sa-mkhan* (1928, p. 562) may be a guide, as may also *sa-stoṅ*, if intended for *sa-ston*; but see *infra*. There were paid workmen or servants (*las-myi*): also slaves (*gu-rib* ?), and "government-servants" (*mṅan-gyi ḫbans*, apparently persons under sentence) and "god's-servant" (*lha-ḫbaṅs*, slaves belonging to temples ?), who might be employed (*karmācita*, *karma kārita* "made to

[1] Forsyth, *Mission to Yarkund*, pp. 34, 102.
[2] Chavannes, op. cit., pp. 107–8.

labour", of the Kharoṣṭhī documents and the Sanskrit *Artha-śāstra*) on hire (*g-yar-por*) or lent out to individuals.

The use of money is even in modern times restricted in Chinese Turkestan, where domestic (farm) industries and barter at fairs are prevalent. In the documents wages (rations, *tshal-ma* and *gla*) were usually reckoned in grain; where money payment was requisite, it was in the form of Chinese coins (*doṅ-tse*) and copper *sraṅ* ("ounces"). It will be realized that a sparse employment of coin entails a resort to orders or drafts convertible locally by travellers into supplies; and such seem, in fact, to be denoted by the expression *brgyags-byaṅ* "provision-ticket". We also have the expressions "attested signature of the three times" (*dus-sum-gyi-dpaṅ-rgya*, 1928, pp. 574–5), which seems to be a bill payable at sight, and *bkaḥ-rims-phye* "circular order flour" (1927, p. 819), which must be an order to levy flour at successive points along a route.

As has been previously stated, a part of the land in each district was distinguished as "the lord's land". Special arrangements (*źiṅ-ḥgod*) seem to have been made for its cultivation, upon communal lines and with limited freedom on the part of the tillers.[1] The remaining land would be in the hands of private owners (*źiṅ-pon*) or held by official titles. The actual cultivator was called *źiṅ-pa* (Sk. *karṣaka*). The ploughing (*rmo-ba*) seems to have usually been done with the aid of teams (*dor*) supplied from or through the officials, being probably yaks of the kind still reared in places on the northern slopes of the mountain barrier[2]; the Kharoṣṭhī documents, however, do not seem to refer to yaks, and the teams of later times may indeed have been of oxen. One who takes care of fields is *chun-pa*. The crop (*skya*) was usually of wheat (*gro*), barley (*nas*), or millet (*khre*); whether the distinction of "white" (*dkar*) and "black" (*gnag*) was

[1] The *gtan-źiṅ* and *dbaṅ-thaṅ* of 1928, pp. 572–3, seem to mean "fixed allotments" and "special privileges" respectively.

[2] Grenard, op. cit., ii, pp. 182–3, 212. Forsyth, op. cit., pp. 70–1.

between different kinds of wheat or otherwise, does not appear—the white seems to be the *śuka masu* of the Kharoṣṭhī documents. The grain was *stsaṅ*, and those who were engaged in conveying it from place to place were called *stsaṅ-ḥdren*; flour is *phye*.

It would seem that pits (*baṅ-doṅ*, p. 566) were used for storage of grain, as of other objects. The government portion taken as tax (*khral*) would, when not removed to headquarters, be deposited in toll and corn-stations (*rtsaṅ-gam*, the *draṅga* of the Kharoṣṭhī records), whence, no doubt, couriers and other persons provided with orders would be supplied.

Taxation will not have been confined to agricultural produce. We hear of a horse levied as a tax and of a carpet demanded upon a particular occasion. It is probable that the yield of animal breeding (including wool used for making felt and ropes), and also the occupations of craftsmen, were taxed. Of the system followed in regard to irrigation and supply of water, which must always have been important and is mentioned, 1928, p. 573, and in regard to gold or copper mining and jade-working, we have no inkling.

It is obvious that for the purposes of assessment and revenue, and also in connection with levies, assignments, and orders upon the store-houses, a system of accounts must have been necessary. Accordingly we have many references to the *rtsis* "census" or "assessment" or "accounts", both in regard to countries or districts as a whole, and in regard to estates (as well as in connection with the army, on which matter see 1933, p. 380): thus the Tibetan *Chronicle* records (ll. 158, 160, 163) a *rtsis* in connection with the demarking of certain "lord's lands" and in many other connections; the results of a *rtsis* are reported (1930, p. 81) from Khotan to the authorities in Śiṅ-śan: and the Gośṛṅga *Prophecy* speaks of the census-total of the country of Khotan. For these purposes use was made of wooden tablets such as those which have survived; we have *khram* accounts (*khram-tshan*) of revenues of monasteries in Śa-cu (1928, pp. 66–9). The Tibetan

Chronicle has many references to these *khram's*, sometimes called red (*dmar*) *khram's*, and their revision, and in one instance we learn (l. 246) of a transfer of records from red *khrams* to yellow paper. For illustrations and descriptions of such *khrams* see Sir A. Stein's *Serindia*, pls. clxxi–ii. Not seldom they are notched or lined for numerical purposes, and often they have been cut away to serve as a tally.

For the purpose of an assessment a survey would be an occasional or permanent necessity. The *yul-mthoṅ* or *yul-zigs* would be the district surveyor or overseer; but we have also a fragment of a long document recording a survey of an obviously preliminary character. The Tibetan *Chronicle* uses the phrase *phyiṅ-ril* "circumference" (?), in connection with the *rtsis* of certain "lord's lands"; and it seems likely that a boundary palisade of trees is meant, such as we are told [1] that the Tibetans made on the Chinese frontier at Liang-chow, posting guards along it.

The measures used in connection with grain are *khal*, "load" (= Sanskrit *bhāra* or *vāha* or *khārī*) = 20 *bre*. Sometimes there is mention of a *rkaṅ*, "bundle" or "truss". For oil and flesh we have the *phul*, literally "handful", = 4 *khyor*; for wool the *phor* or *pho-re*; for butter (*mar*), etc., the *sraṅ* "ounce" = 10 *ẑo*. Measured lengths are in fathoms (*ḥdom*). A roll of silk or paper is *yug*, and a "bundle" of wood seems to be *ris*. A *pa-tsa* or *pha-tsha* is a packet.

Coming to matters of a more individualist character and extending to the whole country of Chinese Turkestan, we find much evidence of journeyings covering considerable stretches. This has always been, as it still is,[2] a feature of Central Asia. The extent of the country of Chinese Turkestan itself, about 1,000 miles from East to West by about 600 from North to South, and the uninhabited spaces separating the settled oases, might have been sufficient to engender this trait. But the almost incredibly long trade routes, from

[1] Bushell, *JRAS.*, 1880, p. 469.
[2] See Grenard, op. cit., ii, pp. 87–8.

China to the Greek and Roman east, whereof the *traversée* of the whole country was only a stage; the dependence of the country upon distant China, interrupted only by domination of far-flung nomad powers issuing from Mongolia; the communications of China with its dependencies in and beyond the Pamirs; the passage in old days of Buddhist pilgrims from China to Bactria and India, then of Manichæans and Christians to Persia, later of Musalmans to Mecca, of Buddhists from Mongolia to Lhasa, must have accustomed the population at the several periods to contemplate a wide geographical horizon. This would certainly have undergone no contraction in Tibetan times. The mere presence in Turkestan of authorities from Lha-sa and of soldiers from all parts of the great country of Tibet, at a time when it was in military contact with the Chinese from Ssŭch'uan to Kan-su, with the Turks from the Tian-shan to the Pamir countries and even with the Arabs in Transoxiana, must have dwarfed the scale of mere internal communications in Turkestan itself. We have quoted (1927, p. 546) letters of introduction given by Tibetan authorities in Kan-su to a Buddhist pilgrim from the famous shrine of Wu-t'ai-shan in Shan-si, safeguarding him as far as Śa-cu, whence he was to make the grand pilgrimage to India. A mission from a Khotan king inspects all the towns to the east as far as Kan-su and Shan-si in China and includes in its survey the places in the Tian-shan region, and perhaps further west. A party of spies has been absent from Khotan nearly a year and has covered great distances, into Tibet (1930, p. 86); and other parties send missives to be passed on to the Nob region and then to Khotan (pp. 84–5). Certain emissaries are to follow a company of exiles from Nob as far as Kva-cu (1927, p. 819). A messenger arrives in the Khotan region with goods from remote Skyañ-ro in North-Eastern Tibet (1930, p. 273). These particulars are sufficient to account for the rather frequent references in the documents to journeys (*rad*) and to matters (*skyel*, "convoy" or "transport", *ri-skyel*, "mountain convoy",

rad-gos "travel-clothes", *ri-zug* "mountain-sickness") and persons (*ban-chen*, *rin-lugs*, etc., 1927, p. 66), and to disputes in connection with these.

In the Kharoṣṭhī records the most frequently mentioned transport animal is the camel; but the horse and ox appear not rarely, and both are indigenous in the country. The Tibetan documents refer seldom to camels, which in Tibet itself are not liked. There is mention of riding-horses (*mchibs*, *rta*) not only in military connections, but also for private conveyance. But the place of pride in ordinary journeys belongs to the ass, the usual pack-animal. The sheep also serves (1927, p. 80) for conveyance, perhaps especially of corn; this expedient, the value of which has been estimated in modern times,[1] may have been introduced from Tibet. To wheeled transport or to sedan-chairs or palankeens there is no reference.

The only other animal mentioned is the dog, which, as in the Chinese references to the dogs of Turfan and Kuca, appears as an object of fancy (in Stein, *Innermost Asia*, p. 1087) or employed for hunting.

Some slight interest attaches to the objects, other than provisions, mentioned in law-cases or in letters, as required or received—silk, carpets, wool, cotton, ribbons, ropes, paper; oil; dress, overcoats, winter things; fire-stones, cups, baskets, copper vessels, iron, bell-metal; rings, turquoise, jade, seed-pearls, coral; medicines. There are some recipes and applications for medicines, and also inquiries addressed to the doctor, involving, it seems, divination by means of [sheep's] shoulder-blades (cf. Rubruquis' *Journey*, tr. Rockhill, pp. 187–8).

Burial was practised in Chinese Turkestan, as is proved by the archæological explorations of graves.[2] In Khotan the normal practice was cremation; but the kings were buried far out in the desert, temples being built and services held in their honour. Grenard has propounded the view that the

[1] Forsyth, *Mission to Yarkund*, pp. 492–3.
[2] Sir A. Stein, *Serindia* and *Innermost Asia*, s.v. burial.

present shrines of Musalman saints in Khotan are really derived from cult of the royal tombs; and he even holds (op. cit., ii, pp. 240–3) that the Musalman sacred places in the country generally derive their sanctity from Buddhist and pre-Buddhist worship. In the documents we have reference to burial, both of soldiers and of civilians, and to a ceremony, apparently of mourning, wherein certain persons during certain days were to drink cups of liquid (? beer, *chan*) to a prescribed extent. These ceremonies may, however, have been not Central-Asian, but Tibetan.

The Buddhist religion is a subject too extensive to consider here. And so we need only refer to the decadence lamented in the translated texts. Particular matters are the mention of appropriation of the property (*rkyen*) of religious establishments, including tombs (1928, p. 580), in secular exigencies and of monks taking to mundane and undignified occupations. In the documents, both Kharoṣṭhī and Tibetan, the individual *ban-de* appears sometimes in connection with business transactions, such as loan, rent, or sale.

Of the art of writing the Tibetans, as neighbours of the Chinese and still more proximately of the Tu-yu[k]-hun, who employed the Chinese script, must have been aware from old times. Their contact with the Shan-shan kingdom, early in the seventh century A.D., may have acquainted them with developed forms of the Indian Brāhmī. It was therefore an outcome of *amour-propre* and political self-assertion when the great king Sroṅ-btsan Sgam-po, about A.D. 640, dispatched a mission to Kashmir (1927, pp. 61 sqq.) with the object of designing a specially Tibetan alphabet. This alphabet, which differs widely from the Turkestan Brāhmī, developed quickly into cursive forms, normal in most of the documents, and in Kan-su was occasionally employed for writing Chinese and other languages. From the circumstance that non-cursive forms are rather more common in the documents from Mazār-Tāgh than in the (somewhat earlier) collection from Mīrān it may be inferred that writing was

less practised in Tibet, whence the writers were more recently come, than in the Shan-shan area, where Tibetan rule was of older establishment upon a more cultivated local administrative basis. But in Tibet itself writing was in the eighth century very extensively practised for secretariat purposes and in elaborate systems of military (1933, p. 280) and other registration, for which, as well as for other short records, dockets, tallies, etc., for letters and visiting cards, the wooden tablets were profusely employed. The writing often continued into a second, or third, tablet, attached by a tie through the string-holes; sometimes a paper missive was inserted between the split halves of a stick or pod. The paper, coarse, unglazed, and far inferior to the thin, smooth, yellow material devised by the Chinese, was designated *śog*, usually in the reduplicated form *śog-śog*. The scraping of the tablets for a second or third use and the inditing of letters on the *verso* of old ones or of Chinese literary MSS. show that economy was necessary in regard to both materials; paper, indeed, is sometimes selected by correspondents as an acceptable present. The ink (*snag*) was ordinarily black, as indicated by its name; but red was sometimes used for headings, and there was affectation of other sorts, gold, silver, and turquoise, for distinction or for ornamental and lapidary uses (1927, pp. 61-2). In the Buddhist monasteries there was, as we have seen, a regular business of copying MS., the hands being fairly calligraphic, though not attaining the beauty of some of the later Tibetan styles in Kan-su. The varieties of hand and of use in the documents and the *sgraffiti* in the Endere fort prove that a knowledge of writing was widespread.

The terminology applied to postal communications has already been frequently exemplified, so that here we may be content to assemble the expressions:—

byaṅ "tablet". *byaṅ-bu* "little tablet". *ḥphrin-byaṅ* "missive tablet". *bsñel* (or *rjed*)-*byaṅ* "reminder tablet". *grans-byaṅ* "number tablet". *bskyel-byaṅ* "convoy tablet".

brgyags-byan "provision ticket".
so-byan "soldier tablet".
so-res-byan "soldier-relay tablet".
ḥphar-ma "pass"?
ḥdrul-ba "letter" or "postman".
sprin or *gtan[d]* "to dispatch".
mjal (in sense = Hindī *mil*) "arrive", "be received".

The composition of the letters is in more or less stereotyped form. They begin with an address to the presence or feet (*ta-sña* = *pāda-mūla* of the Kharoṣṭhī documents) of the correspondent, a date in terms of the Twelve-Year Cycle being sometimes prefixed; then comes the name of the person from whom the communication, usually designated "petition" (*gsol-ba*) or "letter-petition" (*mchid-gsol-ba*), comes. Next follow inquiries concerning health (*sñan-sñuns*) or expressions of pleasure or regret or hope according to news of the addressee's good or bad health, and, *casu obtinente*, of thanks for inquiries or for the favour of a letter, often termed a "command" (*bkaḥ*, 1927, pp. 67, 71, etc.). Then, often introduced by the expression *slan-cad* "next" or "for the rest", follows the business part of the letter, which frequently terminates with a reiteration of prayer for the correspondent's health or for an early meeting. Sometimes there is a postscript from the writer's wife or a member of his family, addressed either to the same person or to a relative.

The tone is highly courteous. Important persons address each other as "brother" (*mched* = *priya-bhrātu* of the Kharoṣṭhī documents) or are addressed as "equal to a theophany" or "to a god" (*ḥphrul-dan-mtshuns*, *lha-dan-mtshuns* = *pratyakṣa-devatā* of the Kharoṣṭhī) or *stans-dbyal* "of distinguished station". To have written is "a favour" (*ci-gnan* "what a favour!"). Thanks are expressed by *gtan-rag-ḥtshal*. Trouble to be taken is *thugs-khral* "mind-tax"; and "will you be so good as to attend to?" is *thugs-pags-cir-mdzad* (or *gzigs*). Often a present is sent, with a request for the favour of its acceptance (*bzes-na-ci-gnan* "do you consent to accept?");

or there may be apology for the failure or the inadequacy of a gift. A rather peremptory request from a friend or superior will be in the form "not to do . . . is not good (*sman*) or not proper (*ruṅ*)". An underling, servant, or agent refers to himself as "my humble self" (*bdag-ñan-pa*), makes excuses for failure, and hopes to escape punishment or reprimand. Often a friendly letter is sent merely to convey inquiries as to health, or an official one to "mark time"; and so the phrase *sñan-sñuṅs* seems to be used of such mere intimations of interest or good will. Despite the formalities the tone is often practical and of human interest, with signs of familiarity or even traces of jocosity between friends.

Official or semi-official occasions for letters would include such matters as replies to inquiry as to the gossip, *bkaḫ-mchid*, in such and such a place, questions concerning appointments or favours, requests for interviews and appeals against punishment. We have one, apparently anonymous, letter of denunciation.

The many points of resemblance between these Tibetan letters and the earlier Kharoṣṭhī ones (the Tibetan ones are, however, not so extravagant in personal eulogy) suffice to prove that they are following the, ultimately, Indian model of the latter.[1] In the Śaka-Khotanī language we possess a moderate number of similar documents, which may eventually, when read and understood, present material for comparison.

The function of the post-runner (traceable, perhaps, behind the Latin *acupedius*, Greek ὠκύπους, and the story of the Marathon messenger Pheidippides) was of high antiquity and importance in the east: it has curiously eluded the writers of romance, though Bāṇa does, in his *Harṣa-carita* (c. 5), depict the *dīrghādhvaga* Kuruṅgaka. For Central Asia we have the descriptions by Odoric de Pordenone and others cited in *Cathay and the Way Thither*, new ed., ii, pp. 232–3 and note; and in regard to Tibet Father Huc has a striking passage (Paris, 1850, vol. ii, pp. 443–4) concerning the

[1] See *Acta Orientalia*, xii, pp. 62–5.

short-lived couriers who had to "travel during the night among these mountains, where frightful precipices are encountered at almost every step". The documents use several designations, *rkaṅ-mgyogs* "swift-foot", *bañ-chen* "great-speed (*or* leg)", *riṅ-lu(g)s* "distance-habit (*or* body)", *riṅs-pa* "fast", *ḥdrul(ḥgrul)-ba* "traveller", none of them rendering the Kharoṣṭhī *lekhahamga*.

To books and literature the documents from Mīrān and Mazār-Tāgh do not allude (the Kharoṣṭhī has references to *pothi's*). There are a few fragments of exercises in the alphabet, in arithmetic and in forms of address, and one or two of Buddhist quotations or expressions. But from the hidden library of Tun-huang we have, beside masses of Buddhist literary texts, some pieces of quasi-secular writing, medical, narrative, etc., including the previously (*Indian Studies in Honour of C. R. Lanman*, pp. 193–212) reported epitome version of the *Rāmāyana*.

The extent of the business of copying religious works may be judged from the hundreds of surviving duplicates of certain short texts and from the mention in one of the documents cited above (p. 95) of eighty scribes (*yi-ge-pa*) and twenty revisors (*žu-che[n]*). These might be ecclesiastics. But the numerous legal and other documents, and a record of payment for a new copy of a letter damaged (?) in transit (M. Tāgh, b. i, 0051), imply, no doubt, professional scribes, distinct from the official persons and secretariats (*tshan-lon* "councillor for accounts", in Śa-cu, 1927, p. 67). We have mention also of donations for the expense of copying, and of private persons themselves writing out texts as a work of merit (ibid., pp. 282–3).

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(To be continued.)

MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

SOME NOTES ON THE SAUNDARANANDAKĀVYA

[The following notes were kindly sent to me by Professor Jarl Charpentier for publication at my discretion. In many passages of this interesting poem I have so failed to attain finality in either the constitution or the interpretation of the text that other students may find the notes as deserving of serious consideration as I have. The suggested translations of *latā* in iii, 12, and of *manīṣā* in iv, 27, should certainly be accepted. I have added brief comments in square brackets on some of the other verses, but otherwise reserve my opinion.—E. H. JOHNSTON.]

While lecturing, with the help of Mr. Johnston's excellent text and translation, upon that very interesting but not always quite easy poem by Aśvaghoṣa, the *Saundaranandakāvya*, I had to make some notes against passages where either the text or the translation seemed to me more or less doubtful. Most of these quite casual jottings are devoid of every value to all but myself; but some few of them I venture to give here as being not wholly without interest to scholars who occupy themselves with the fascinating works of Aśvaghoṣa. My notes so far refer only to Cantos i–iv.

ii, 28 : *rakṣaṇāc caiva śauryāc ca nikhilāṃ gām avīvapat* |
spaṣṭayā daṇḍanītyā ca rātrisattrān avīvapat ||

"The entire earth was cultivated through his maintenance of order and was conquered through his heroism; and he put down nocturnal malefactors by his enlightened administration of justice." The commentary to the text explains *rātrisattrān* by pointing to *sattrājīvino rātricāriṇaḥ* in Kauṭilya, xiv, 1, 4.

However, *rātrisattrān* does not quite convince me. In the passage quoted from Kauṭilya *sattra* no doubt means

"disguise, masking",[1] and has got nothing to do with *sattra* "assembly, festival". Another passage from Kauṭilya (viii, 4, 61, mentioned by Mr. Johnston in his commentary), however, better suits our text: *pratirodhakāṭavikayoḥ pratirodhakakāḥ rātrisattraparāḥ śarīrākrāmiṇo nityāḥ*[2] *śatasahasrāpahāriṇaḥ* "of robbers and forest tribes the robbers have their assemblies at night, make bodily assaults on people, and are always carrying off hundreds of thousands". Thus *rātrisattra*, which in the *Śrautasūtras* denotes a nocturnal festival (Soma sacrifice), may also mean a "nocturnal assembly" (of thieves, robbers, etc.). This, I venture to think, will afford a clue to our verse, the second line of which ought perhaps to run thus:

spṛṣṭayā daṇḍanītyā ca rātrisattrāṇy avīvapat.

"And by his enlightened administration of justice he scattered the nocturnal assemblies (of malefactors)." The exchange of *'sattrān* against *'sattrāṇy* does not seem to me a very shocking one.

ii, 56 *b*. *samāyayau yaśaḥketuṃ śreyaḥketukaraḥ paraḥ* |

"The Supreme One, the banner-bearer of the highest good, attained the pinnacle of fame," etc. Though very well possible, neither text nor translation appears to me wholly probable. Mr. Johnston himself is evidently at some difficulty to explain the curious compound *śreyaḥketukaraḥ*, which, as far as I can see, gets but scant illumination from the Atharvaveda-passage quoted in the note on his translation.

First of all I should feel wholly inclined to read *ketudharaḥ* instead of *'karaḥ*. For *ketudharaḥ* may really mean "ensign, banner-bearer", a sense which is perhaps less well expressed by *ketukaraḥ*. And, further, I venture to suggest that we ought to read not *yaśaḥketuṃ* but *yaśaḥketam*, palæographically a fairly slight alteration which would, however, give a somewhat different sense to the passage.

[1] In this sense the word is found in several passages of the *Virāṭaparvan*, etc

[2] Thus Jolly's text; I prefer, however, to read *nityaṃ*.

For °*keta* here, according to my humble opinion, would be = *niketa* and mean "house, abode".[1] And finally I want to sever *śreyaḥ* from *ketudharaḥ*, and explain it as meaning "supreme bliss". Consequently the translation of the half-verse: *samāyayau yaśaḥketaṃ śreyaḥ ketudharaḥ paraḥ* would run something like this: "The highest banner-bearer attained the supreme bliss, the abode of glory." May I be excused for thinking my alteration of the text fairly slight and still conveying a somewhat clearer sense?

[Alternatively, is *samāyayau* the correct restoration of the MS.'s *samāyayo*? Query *samāpa yo* or the like?—J.]

ii, 65: *udvegād apunarbhave manaḥ praṇidhāya*
sa yayau śayitavarāṅganād anāsthaḥ |
niśi nṛpatinilayanād vanagamanakṛtamanāḥ
sarasa iva mathitanalināt kalahaṃsaḥ ||

Mr. Johnston's translation rests upon the acceptance in *b* of Professor de la Vallée Poussin's conjecture *varāṅganāsv* (*anāsthaḥ*). It is, of course, with great diffidence that I venture to oppose my own humble opinion to that of these two eminent scholars; still, I must confess that *varāṅganāsv* is to me wholy unacceptable, the text being, as far as I can judge, entirely in order. The translation consequently ought to run thus: "In his agitation fixing his mind on non-rebirth and set upon retiring to the forest he, free from desire, departed at night from the royal palace with its sleeping women like a swan from a lake with uprooted lotuses." A parallel, affording an explanation, is found in the *Buddhacarita*, v, 62—

iti sattvakulānurūparūpaṃ
vividhaṃ sa pramadājanaḥ śayānaḥ |
sarasaḥ sadṛśaṃ babhāra rūpaṃ
pavanāvarjitarugnapuṣkarasya ||

[1] As for *śreyaḥketo* in *A.V.* v, 20, 10, I cannot believe with Mr. Johnston that it is really a vocative of *śreyaḥketu*. The *Prātiśākhya* (ii, 62) is certainly right in explaining it as a nominative. However, Whitney's translation (*Atharva-Veda*, p. 256), as often happens with him, is far from the point, as *śreyaḥketo* does not mean "aiming at advantage" but "abode of glory"

where the sleeping zenana bears the likeness of a pond, the lotus-flowers of which have been torn to pieces by the wind.

iii, 12*a*-*b*: *iti duḥkham etad iyam asya samudayalatā pravarttikā* |

is translated by: "This is suffering, this is its origin which consists in the persistence of active being", and accompanied by this note: "The point of *latā* . . . is not clear to me except as filling up the verse."

But to me it seems quite obvious that *latā* is here used in the same sense as it is at times in the Pāli scriptures, where we hear about the *taṇhālatā* (e.g. *Therag.* 1094, cf. 1101 and 761; also *Dhp.* 340; *Udāna* 77, etc.) and where *latā* simply stands instead of *taṇhā* (*Nettipak.* 24)[1] or as a synonym of *lobha* (*Dhammas.* 1059) or of *abhijjhā* (ibid. 1136).[2] Thus *samudayalatā* must mean about the same as *samudayatṛṣṇā* "thirst of origin, of existence". The following *pravarttikā* is somewhat circumstantially rendered by: "Which consists in the persistence of active being"—probably in allusion to a certain sense of the Pāli *pavutta*. However, I am not quite prepared to accept this elaborate rendering of *pravarttikā*, for to me it simply means "giving rise, origin to". Thus the words *iyam asya samudayalatā pravarttikā* most naturally seem to resolve themselves into something like: "This is the thirst for existence, its cause of origin."

[*Pravartikā*, best "which causes *pravṛtti*"; cf. xvi, 17, 18. J.]

iv, 4 The translation of the compound *svakuloditena*[3] is beset with some difficulties. The late Professor Gawroński[4] tried to put it in order, but his reference to *Kirātārjunīya*, i. 29, is not to the point. Nor can I feel convinced by the

[1] Cf. *vidhūtalatā* = *vigatataṇhā*, *Nettipak.* 141 (*PTS. Pāli Dict.* wrongly 121).

[2] Cf. also Mrs. Rhys Davids, *JPTS.* 1907, 130.

[3] Hultzsch, *ZDMG.* lxxii, 120, wanted to read *sukuloditena*, which does not materially help us.

[4] *Notes on the Saundarananda*, 2nd Series, p. 9 sq.

suggestion of Mr. Johnston that *kula* should here mean the same as *kulaparvata*. As far as I understand, *svakuloditena* must mean that Sundarī and Nanda belonged to the same family, i.e. were blood-relations; and it also alludes to the traditional relationship between the sun and the *padminī* (the sun is *padminīkānta*, *padminīśa*, etc.).

iv, 5*d*. The words *sā sundarī strīṣu nareṣu nandaḥ* seem to me rather lacking in sense, but I do not know what to do with them. It would be quite possible to read *sā sundarī strī punar eṣa nandaḥ*; this, however, would presuppose for the word *nanda* a sense that is not known to me.

[For the text cf. *Nala*, i, 30.—J.]

iv, 11*c*: This passage, as Mr. Johnston himself remarks, has been restituted by somewhat desperate means, and I feel fairly sure that *'nyonyavinodanena* can scarcely have been the original reading of the text. But even the *tarṣabalena tena* of the *editio princeps*, though possible, can scarcely be said to be wholly satisfactory. However, *tarṣabale°* seems not impossible, as the reading °नर्षबले° in P. could well be a corruption of तर्षबले°. Perhaps one might venture the suggestion that *īraṇa* could be synonymous with *samīraṇa* "exciting", and consequently read thus:—

klamāntare tarṣabaleraṇena salīlam anyonyam amīmadac ca |
"And in the intervals of exhaustion they sportively intoxicated each other by means of the exciter of the strength of passion (i.e. liquor)." [1]

iv, 16*c*, *d*: I am at a loss to understand how this second half-verse—

pattrāṅguliṃ cārdhanimīlitākṣe vaktre 'sya tām eva vinirdudhāva

could be translated: "and rubbed the stick of paint she was using up and down his face while his eyes were half-shut." As far as I am aware, *pattrāṅguli* must mean *pattrabhaṅga*

[1] Cf. *madasamīraṇa* and *balasamīraṇa* as epithets of *pāna* (quoted from the Epics in *PW*.).

"a flowery pattern". Consequently I suppose that we must read *vinirdadhāva* (: [1] *dhāv-*), and translate somewhat in this way: "and rubbed the flowery pattern on to his face with its half-shut eyes." It is scarcely necessary to remark that in Aśvaghoṣa's language *nis-* and *ni-* may not always be severely kept apart; and thus *vi-nir-dhāv-* might quite well mean *vi-ni-dhāv-* for which the sense of "to rub on" may easily be suggested.

[This overlooks *tām eva* "the same", and on the above reading we must take the meaning to be that she rubbed off on to his face the lines she had just been putting on to her own; in fact, she rubbed her face against his. Alternatively, the reference may be, as in my translation, not to the decoration on her face, but to one of the means of painting, such as the *tamālapattra* of verses 20 and 21. The only other recorded occurrence of *pattrāṅguli* in literature is many centuries later at *Haravijaya*, xx, 45, where it is glossed *pattralatā*; there the moon's moisture provides the foundation for the painting (*pattrāṅgulīr iva rasārdratayā vidhitsor indoḥ*), as the *tamālapattra* does here, and the lunar rays by illuminating the smoke of the burning aloe-wood make it look like the powder which was put on the wet surface. "The stick of paint she was using" is too free and perhaps anachronistic, but may give the correct sense generally. -J.]

iv, 18: *nāgavṛkṣa* (translated by "*nāga*-tree") seems to denote a somewhat unknown species of tree. It may, however, be explained by P. *nāgarukkha*, which is said to mean iron-wood-tree (*Diospyros Ebenum*); it is the Bo-tree of one of the predecessors of Gautama Buddha, cf. *Jātaka*, i, 35; *Mahāvastu*, i, 249.[1] The same meaning is ascribed in Pāli to the word *nāgalatā*, which undoubtedly means a sort of wood used for making toothpicks (cf. *Jātaka*, i, 80, 232).

[Cf. vii, 9, for a more detailed description of this tree. The kind meant is apparently *Mesua Ferrea* as described by Brandis and Watts. -J.]

[1] Thus—not ii, 249, as misprinted in the *PTS. Pāli Dict.*

iv, 27*d*: The words *Buddhasya vaiṣā niyatam manīṣā* must be in some way corrupt, and the translation "Or so the Buddha certainly thought" is unacceptable to me. For how could the Buddha, who is omniscient, cherish such an apparently false idea? According to my opinion, we must certainly read *caiṣā*, and translate: "And such was evidently the Buddha's wish," i.e. Buddha wished to pass unnoticed because he knew that he would thus force Nanda to pay him a visit.

v, 41: *kākṣa-* I have found in *MBh.* i, 68, 53 (Poona):—

sa tvaṃ svayam anuprāptaṃ sābhilāṣam imaṃ sutam |
prekṣamāṇaṃ ca kākṣeṇa kim artham avamanyase ||

And in *Bhaṭṭikāvya* v, 24:—

mām upāsta didṛkṣāvān yāṣṭīkavyāhato hariḥ |
ājñālābhonmukho dūrāt kākṣeṇānādarekṣitaḥ || [1]

In neither of these passages is there any hint that *kākṣa* does really mean *ekākṣa*, nor is this, as far as I understand, the case here. Looking with a sidelong glance at Sundarī the impassioned Nanda was no more satisfied than is a thirsty man who drinks water out of one hand, i.e. a mouthful of water.

181. JARL CHARPENTIER.

FONDATION DE GOEJE

1. Le Conseil a éprouvé une perte douloureuse par le décès de M. C. van Vollenhoven, secrétaire-trésorier de la Fondation depuis 1907. Il fut remplacé par M. A. J. Wensinck. Conformément au statut M. J. J. Salverda de Grave, en quittant Amsterdam, se vit obligé de prendre sa démission comme membre du Conseil. Il fut remplacé par M. Paul Scholten.

Le Conseil est donc composé maintenant comme suit: MM. C. Snouck Hurgronje (président), Tj. de Boer, J. L. Palache, Paul Scholten et A. J. Wensinck (secrétaire-trésorier).

[1] **kākṣa* in Wackernagel, *Ai. Gr.* ii, 1, 84, consequently should be altered into *kākṣa*.

2. Le Conseil est heureux d'avoir pu faire paraître dans l'année écoulée comme dixième publication de la Fondation : *Das konstantinopler Fragment des Kitāb Iḫtilāf al-Fuqahā'* von . . . aṭ-Ṭabarī, herausgegeben von Joseph Schacht.

3. Des dix publications de la Fondation il reste un certain nombre d'exemplaires, qui sont mis en vente au profit de la Fondation, chez l'éditeur E. J. Brill, aux prix marqués : (1) *The Ḥamâsa of al-Buḥturi*, photographic reproduction of the MS. . . . with indexes by R. Geyer and D. S. Margoliouth (1909), fl. 96 ; (2) *The Fâkhir of al-Mufaḍḍal ibn Salama*, ed. C. A. Storey (1915), fl. 6 ; (3) I. Goldziher, *Streitschrift des Gazâlî gegen die Bâṭinijja-Sekte* (1916), fl. 4.50 ; (4) *Bar Hebraeus's Book of the Dove*, translated by A. J. Wensinck (1919), fl. 4.50 ; (5) C. van Arendonk, *De opkomst van het Zaidietische Imamaat in Yemen* (1919), fl. 6 ; (6) I. Goldziher, *Die Richtungen der islamischen Koranauslegung* (1920), fl. 10 ; (7) *Averroes. Die Epitome* übersetzt . . . von S. van den Bergh (1924), fl. 7.50 ; (8) *Les "Livres des Chevaux" de Hišām b. al-Kalbī et Muḥ. b. al-A'rābī*, publiés par G. Levi Della Vida (1927), fl. 5 ; (9) D. van der Meulen and H. von Wissmann, *Hadramaut* (1932), fl. 9 ; (10) *aṭ-Ṭabarī, Kitāb Iḫtilāf al-Fuqahā'. Das konstantinopler Fragment* herausg. von J. Schacht (1933), fl. 4.80.

LEIDEN,
November, 1933.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

THE LANGUAGE OF THE PENTATEUCH IN ITS RELATION TO EGYPTIAN. By A. S. YAHUDA. Vol. I. 10 × 7, pp. xxxviii + 310, pls. 16. London: Oxford University Press, 1933. 25s.

PART II

The most interesting as it is the newest of Dr. Yahuda's lines of research is on the Garden of Eden, for he is not content with philological evidence only but works out the geographical indications as given in the Bible. The river that flowed through the Garden and then parted into four streams is, as it always has been, the chief indication. Here having broken away from the usually accepted idea that Eden was in Mesopotamia, Dr. Yahuda finds that the evidence points again to Egypt. He notes first that the river on which Eden was situated was one stream only, and that it was only in Trans-Eden that it split into four. In other words, "all that this passage sought to convey was that the one Paradise river gave origin to the four greatest world rivers, and that Paradise was the source of fertility and prosperity for the whole earth." The primitive ideas of the form of the world held by the author of Genesis must always be taken into account when considering the geographical position of Eden, and here the Egyptian cosmography is of importance. It is natural that to the Egyptian mind the Nile Valley was the type of the whole world, which would therefore be a kind of trough with hills to the east and hills to the west and a vault overhead over which the sun passed. Dr. Yahuda argues with much plausibility that Eden was situated on the eastern face of the west side of the trough, and was in fact an oasis. Its position is also shown by the fact that, when Adam was driven out, the cherubim and the flaming sword were placed at the east of the Garden, there was no danger of invasion from the west, that being over the edge of the world.

The river of Eden was the fountain-head of the four world rivers, and the passage describing them could be well translated, "A river went forth from the oasis to water the garden, and thence it was severed, and became four head-springs." Dr. Yahuda suggests that the river "on leaving the oasis, ceased to flow on the surface, but continued its course subterraneously, its waters supplying the sources of the four rivers". A wealth of philological and other evidence is brought forward to establish these points, which if accepted make the account of Eden far more rational and exact than if it were placed in Mesopotamia.

Two of the rivers, Hiddekel (Tigris) and Euphrates, are of course easily identifiable, but Pison and Gihon have been more controversial. Yet seeing that the ancient Near East regarded the world as being bounded on the east by south-running rivers, it is only natural to suppose that there was a similar boundary of north-running rivers on the west. The symmetrization of geographical features is a common character of the pseudo-science of ancient times. The only north-flowing river on the west is the Nile, which would be the obvious parallel to the two streams of the east. If this is accepted, then the Kush through which Gihon flows must be Nubia (Ethiopia), Kush being the common Egyptian name for that part of the Nile Valley which lies between the first and second cataracts. The suggestion that Gihon and Pison are the names for the same river in its upper and lower reaches is well supported by the evidence both of antiquity and of the present day. A modern example is the Granta, which in its lower reaches becomes the Cam. Herodotus quotes the oracle of Amon that "all the country which the Nile irrigated was Egypt, and all those were Egyptians who dwelt below the city of Elephantine", which shows that the Nubian river was not regarded as the Nile in the Persian period. If Pison is identified as the northern portion of the Nile it becomes essential to identify the Land of Havilah with Egypt. This is the real crux of the whole theory. The

products of Havilah are therefore of the greatest importance, "the gold of that land is good, there is bdellium and *shōham*-stone." Dr. Yahuda points out that the area lying between Upper Egypt and the Red Sea yields all these commodities. The "good gold" is a literal translation of the Egyptian *nb nfr*, which, however, was probably a technical term for a special kind of gold. Shōham is certainly not the onyx-stone of the A.V., and it is equally certain that it is not "malachite" as Dr. Yahuda suggests, for malachite was not used in Egypt in historic times. Dr. Yahuda equates shōham with the Egyptian *mfk3t*, but the Egyptian word refers in the first instance to a product of Sinai: it can therefore only mean turquoise. In the XIIth dynasty the reference was probably enlarged to include green felspar and beryl or emerald; and as there were emerald mines in that same area the identification of shōham with emerald is almost certainly correct. Bdellium is, as is well known, a resinous aromatic gum produced by various plants which grow well in the hot climate of Upper Egypt. If then the Land of Havilah be taken as the stretch of country from and including Upper Egypt to the Red Sea, Pison must be the Egyptian Nile. Dr. Yahuda gives an interesting derivation of the two Hebrew names of the Nile; Gihon, the Nubian Nile, is from a root meaning "to leap", and refers to the leaping waters of the cataracts, while Pison is derived from a word meaning "to increase, to flow over", which describes the phenomenon of the inundation.

Further indications as to the position of Eden in its relation to Egypt are brought forward. Emphasis is laid on the distinction between the fertility of the Garden and the aridity of the "red land", which Adam was set to till; such a distinction between a fertile soil and the "red land" or desert is known only in Egypt. Again in Gen. ii, 5, the fact that there was no rain, yet "every plant of the field and every herb of the field" grew there, is very significant when the rainless but fertile condition of Egypt is borne in mind. Even the strange statement that "a mist went up

from the earth and watered the whole face of the ground" applies very well to Egypt, where in the winter months thick mists are not uncommon, mists which leave heavy moisture or dew on the ground. According to Dr. Yahuda the name of Eden, which has no real derivation, means an oasis; among other quotations brought forward in proof of this suggestion is Joel ii, 3, "the land is as the Garden of Eden before them, and behind them a desolate wilderness." Here, if the words "oasis-garden" are substituted for "garden of Eden", the vividly picturesque contrast is obtained. The close connection, almost identification, of the Garden of the Lord with Egypt is found in Gen. xiii, 10, where Lot looked out over the well-watered land, which was "as the garden of the Lord, like the land of Egypt".

The Tree of Life in the midst of the Garden is purely Egyptian. By the middle of the VIth dynasty it was an established theological theory, and when the Pharaoh went to the field of Offerings over which the Never-Setting Stars hover, they (the Stars) give to him that Tree of Life on which they themselves live. The identification of the Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil with the fig-tree is not quite convincing. It is based largely on the idea that the fig-tree was the love tree, and that the use of fig-leaves conveys "the veiled hint that they were from the very tree the fruit of which had aroused in the first human couple the consciousness of love".

To anyone acquainted with Egyptian mythology the phrase "to be as God" expresses the current belief that the Pharaoh, or anyone with the knowledge of the correct magical spells, could be the equal of the gods. This idea is one of the main theories of Egyptian eschatology.

Another point which Dr. Yahuda has brought out is the curse against the serpent in Gen. iii, 15, "thou shalt bruise his head and he shall bruise thy heel." The Hebrew word used of the injury done reciprocally by Man (i.e. the descendant of Eve) and the serpent is translated in the A.V.

by *bruise*, a totally inadequate word to describe a snake's method of attack, though quite legitimate for the method of killing a snake. The Hebrew also has only one word, and Biblical scholars usually consider either that the Hebrew word has developed from two roots of different meanings, or that the word itself has a meaning which expresses the two very different methods of attack employed by man or snake. The Egyptian language and religious conceptions solve the difficulty. All Egyptologists are familiar with the dogma that the great serpent was killed by a god, and there are many representations of the god (or man) piercing the head of the snake with a spear, while the snake is about to bite the foot of its slayer. There are two Egyptian words which can be used equally well to express the action of the two protagonists in the scene, *psḫ* and *dm*, both of which mean "to pierce" either with a weapon or a tooth. It is probable then that the Hebrew word has the same meaning and should be translated *pierce*; for on the two other occasions on which it occurs in the Bible the meaning of *pierce* would not be amiss.

Though it has been possible to give only some out of the wealth of important and interesting suggestions which Dr. Yahuda has brought forward, enough has been said to show that he has opened up a new field of Biblical research. It is not surprising that much of the mythology and of the language of Egypt should be found in a country so closely connected with Egypt as Palestine, the really surprising thing is that the connections have not been noted before, or if noted have been neglected as of no importance. Though Dr. Yahuda has not always succeeded in fully establishing some of his theories, he has proved so many of his suggestions that even the most prejudiced Biblical critic must accept them. But it is a curious fact that when any new form of criticism, whether destructive or constructive, is brought to bear on the Bible it rouses hostility among other sections of scholars. Yet if the new criticism is founded on facts it will prevail

in the end and will become part of the general stock of knowledge in the world. This is bound to be the fate of Dr. Yahuda's contribution to Biblical criticism. His vast linguistic knowledge makes that contribution extraordinarily valuable; and as his criticisms are constructive they will undoubtedly have as great an effect and last longer than the destructive criticisms of another school of thought.

872. M. A. MURRAY.

VICITRAKARṆIKĀVADĀNODDHṚTA. A Collection of Buddhistic Legends. By H. JÖRGENSEN. 8¾ × 5½, pp. 344. London: Royal Asiatic Society (Oriental Translation Fund, New Series, vol. xxxi), 1931.

Newārī,[1] which belongs to the Tibeto-Burman family, was the chief language of the valley of Nepal up to the time of the Gurkha conquest in 1768, since when it has been supplanted by the Indo-Aryan Nepali as the language of administration. A large literature exists in manuscript, for the most part translations of, or commentaries on, Sanskrit Buddhistic works, which go back at least 500 years. Yet up to the present very little attention has been paid either by linguists or by Buddhist scholars to this language: the list of references to Newārī compiled by Professor Konow in *LSI.*, iii, 1, p. 215, shows how meagre this attention has been. The first scientific treatment of the language was Conrady's two articles in *ZDMG.* (1891 and 1893). The present author continued this work with the publication of two stories translated into Newārī from the *Vetālapañcaviṁśatikā* in 1921 (*ZDMG.*, 75) and the beginnings of a dictionary in 1927 (Acta Orientalia, vi). Now for the first time a complete text in Newārī has been published, together with an English translation, and an index of words not already

[1] The word Newār is derived from, or at least has the same origin as, Skt *nepāla-*, Pkt *nevāla-*. It is perhaps the form of the name used by neighbours speaking an Indo-Aryan language of the Bihārī type, in which *-l-* > *-r-*. Compare Skt *navapālī* "Jasminum Sambac", which appears as Hi *newārī*, but Or *nāḷī* and Mar *nevīl*, *nevilī*.

found in the author's previous vocabulary. This marks a great step forward, and will be invaluable for any who wish to pursue the comparative study of the Tibeto-Burman languages, or to follow the history of the *avadāna* literature in its various translations.

The text is rightly given in transliteration: it maintains the high standard of Messrs. Stephen Austin and Sons' work. It may be regretted that the text and translation, which are of nearly equal length, were not printed opposite each other. The use of captions in both text and translation might have made subsequent reference easier.

The glossary contains useful additions to the already existing vocabularies. The vocabulary borrows very largely from Sanskrit; but there is a fair sprinkling of loanwords from Modern Indo-Aryan languages. Mr. Jórgensen has noted some of these. I add others below. Where possible, I have quoted both Hindi and Nepali forms, the exact dialect from which these loans were made not yet being known. One of the most interesting is *lāchi* "main road," for the only descendant of Skt. *rathyā*, Pa. Pkt. *racchā* that I have found is Mid. Bg. *lācha* (S. K. Chatterji, *Bg. Lang.* Index s.v.). I append some notes:—

aghor = *ghor* is Nep.

āśrā 'hope' or perhaps better 'refuge' is not loanword direct from Skt. *āśā*, but from Hi. *āsrā*, Nep. *āsro* etc. which is perhaps < **āśara*-, cf. *śaraṇá*- 'protecting', *āśāra*- 'protection', *āśāraiṣín*- 'seeking protection'. If so, Pj. *āsrā*, Si. *āsiro* are either lws. from Hi. type, or < MI. **āssara*- with analogical doubling of initial consonant of second member of compound.

upar 'in', *upor taya* 'add' (?) perhaps lw. Hi. *ūpar*.

kun 'corner', lw. Hi. *kōn*, Nep. *kunu*.

khāl 'ditch', lw. Hi. *khāl*, cf. Nep. *khālci*.

khul 'lame', lw. Hi. *khorā*, cf. Nep. *khoraṇḍo*.

kher 'pastime', perh. from an EHi. form **kher* with -*r*- < -*l*-, cf. Or. *kheḷa* < -*l*-, as opposed to Si. *khela* < -*ll*-.

But *bor* lw. Hi. *bol* (with MI -*ll*-) indicates possibility of a Newārī change of $l > r$.

khyāl: the text has *khyār*.

cuk 'courtyard (?)', lw. Hi. *cauk*, Nep. *cok* 'courtyard'. In reference to trans. read 181, 2.

jari also in Hi. *zarī*, Nep. *jari*, 'thread, lace'.

jas 'fame', rather direct from Hi. Nep. *jas*.

jiwoy, juya 'to be alive', lw. Hi. *jīnā*, Nep. *jiunu*.

jitay yāya 'to conquer', lw. Hi. *jītnā*, Nep. *jitnu*.

ju 'term of respect', lw. Nep. *jiu*.

talas (text *taras*) 'below', lw. Hi. *tale*, Nep. *tala*.

thuthā 'crippled, withered', lw. Nep. *ṭhoṭo* 'stump, hornless', Si. *ṭhoṭho* 'withered', Bg. *ṭhōṭā* 'maimed, stump'.

dām 'gift', prob. rather assimilation from *dān biya*.

dhik 'bank', lw. Hi. *ḍhīg* 'mass', Nep. *ḍhig* 'bank'.

pak 'ripe', lw. Nep. *pāko* 'ripe'.

putā 'O son', lw. Hi. *pūt*, Nep. *put*.

bahuli 'a musical instrument' < *basuri (?), cf. *bāsiri* = *bāhiri*, lw. Hi. *bāsulī*, Nep. *bāsuri*.

bāhāl 'shoulder', perh. lw. Nep. *bā(h)ulo* 'sleeve', cf. Pk. *bāhulaga* 'arm', Mar. *bāhuḷā* 'region of the shoulder'.

bidā 'dismissal', lw. Hi. Nep. *bidā*, lw. Ar.

manik, the text has *maṇik*.

may-ju 'lady', perh. lw. Nep. *maiju* 'mother's brother's wife'.

lāchi 'main road', lw. O Bg. *lācha* < Skt. *rathyā*.

lyākh 'reckoning (?)', perh. rather lw. Hi. *lekhā*, Nep. *lekho* 'accounts' with *yā* written for *e*, as often in Nep.

sukhu 'dry', lw. Hi. *sūkhā*, Nep. *sukho*.

In his preface Mr. Jörgensen offers his thanks to the Directors of the Carlsberg Fund for financial aid. By an oversight, doubtless, he makes no acknowledgment of the Royal Asiatic Society's part in undertaking the whole cost of printing and publishing his work.

R. L. TURNER.

Extracts from Abû el Maḥâsin's Chronicle entitled *Ḥawâdith ad-Duhûr*. Edited by William Popper. Part 1, A.H. 845–856; Part 2, A.H. 857–864; Part 3, A.H. 865–874. 10 × 7. Arabic text, pp. A, B + 735. Editor's note in English i, ii. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1930–2.

Abû el Maḥâsin, who was a pupil of El Maqrîzî, continued his master's history of Egypt entitled *Es Sulûk* from its conclusion at the end of the year 844/1441 until 874/1469, the year of his own death, and called his book *Ḥawâdith ed Duhûr*. The extracts from Abû el Maḥâsin's continuation published here by Mr. Popper consist of the portions not incorporated literally or substantially by Abû el Maḥâsin in the seventh volume of his other history *En Nujûm ez Zâhira*, which has been published already under the editorship of Mr. Popper. Both the extracts and *En Nujûm* are marked to show the place in the latter to which each addition from *Ḥawâdith ed Duhûr* belongs. Part 4 of the book is still in preparation and will contain indexes and a glossary.

The book is not one to be read by itself, but as a supplement to *En Nujûm*. It contains a good deal of historical information, mostly on minor matters in Egypt, some of which is curious and interesting. The thirty years which it covers were not a time of great events in Egypt, but the state of affairs there then will be found to be well worth studying. Abû el Maḥâsin was an industrious chronicler if not a very gifted author, and he writes here as a contemporary. It is most useful to have the whole of his account of the time made available in the way that Mr. Popper has produced it. There are a number of other authorities for the same history and one would like to know how far they are independent. Perhaps Mr. Popper will deal with this point in Part 4.

782. R. Guest.

SOMANĀTHA AND OTHER MEDIAEVAL TEMPLES IN KĀṬHIĀWĀḌ. Being vol. xlv, Imperial Series, Archaeological Survey of India. By the late HENRY COUSENS, M.R.A.S. Calcutta, 1931. Rs. 26.12 or 41*s.* 6*d.*

This volume of a well-known series contains a large number of beautiful photographs and plans illustrating the temples and mosques of an interesting part of India. Of these photographs and plans it is perhaps sufficient praise to say that they fully come up to the high standard set by earlier volumes of the Archaeological Survey. The introductory letterpress is also satisfying, and in places Mr. Cousens gives us interesting descriptions, as, for example, where he pictures for us a pilgrimage to the temple-crowned hill of Śatrunjaya. There are a few minor defects which might have been avoided. The map of Kāṭhiāwāḍ should have been brought up to date. It purports to show the railways, but leaves out the Amrelī line and the Dwārka-Jāmnagar line, both of which have existed for many years now. In the introduction it gives one a shock to find the second word "geopraphical", and a few lines further on to meet the strange form "worhisp". There are too many of such oversights, especially in the first few pages. In future volumes it would be well to have Muslim words and names properly transliterated by someone who knows a little Persian. Such forms as Dazlullāh, Magare-bi-Shāh, Shaik Fahqruddin, Jāgīdār, Masjīd, are hardly admissible.

704 C. N. SEDDON.

LAPP DICTIONARY, BASED ON THE DIALECTS OF POLMAK, KARASJOK [KARASYOK], AND KAUTOKEINO. By K. NIELSEN. 9¼ × 7¼, pp. (Vol. I) lxviii + 666. Oslo: R. Aschehoug (W. Nygaard). London: Williams and Norgate. 1932.

I have been asked (by the Royal Asiatic Society) to review a Lapp dictionary, subsidized and published in the summer,

1932, at Oslo by the Institute for Comparative Cultural Research, of which the first part has now appeared, written and compiled by Professor Konrad Nielsen. This part contains lxviii + 666 pages. The complete dictionary with translations, not only into Norwegian but also into English, was intended to appear in four volumes. As it will probably not be possible to publish it within the very near future, it may be of interest to the readers of the *JRAS.* to say a few words about this standard work, of which the publication has now begun. In the preface the author mentions that the material regarding the Lapp dialects in Karasyok, Kautokeino, and Polmak, all spoken in Norway, already began to be collected in 1906. Originally it was planned to publish the material collected up to 1909 in Budapest, but soon the plan was changed inasmuch as the publishing of the work was to be undertaken in Helsingfors through the Finno-Ugrian Society. Under the title, "Lappisches Wörterbuch nach den Dialekten von Polmak, Karasjok und Kautokeino," was published in 1913 the first part of a glossary in which the author made it his chief object to explain the pronunciation of the said dialects, as well as to account for the extremely detailed transcription of the pronunciation. The printing of this glossary was never completed, partly owing to the fact that the author had collected abundant new material during his many travels, and partly owing to his having arrived at a different opinion concerning the possibility of carrying through in the glossary all the many distinctions, especially regarding the quantity of the consonants. On p. x of the preface the author mentions that a continued study of the language gave him a clearer conception of how widespread the individual differences of pronunciation were—especially the differences in a qualitative respect. In view thereof he came to the conclusion that the transcription could in many respects be simplified, without the necessity of relinquishing that accuracy regarding the pronunciation which had characterized the part published earlier at Helsingfors. The Institute in Oslo having promised

liberally to subsidize the work in question, an extension of the size of the glossary as originally planned has been rendered possible. The expansion of phraseology, not to mention other additions, has enlarged the glossary so much that the first part has been extended by more than one-third, even without the double translation, which has caused the book to swell out considerably.

As far as I know, the material for the glossary is intended to be published in three volumes. The fourth volume is to contain a classified list of words with an "Einteilung nach Begriffskreisen" and an ethnological "Realwörterbuch", supplied with illustrations and drawings. It is further to contain a list of Lapp words, which in scientific literature have been treated etymologically. I entertain the lively hope that the plan may be realized, as it would greatly facilitate the arduous task not only of experts but also of all other scholars interested in the Lapp language. While I here draw the attention of linguists to that part of the Dictionary recently published, a standard work in the best sense of the word, I express the hope that the author will find occasion to finish this great and valuable work in conformity with his original plan.

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KAI DONNER.

IBN YAMIN. One hundred short poems. The Persian text with paraphrase. By BRIGADIER-GENERAL E. H. RODWELL. 10 × 6¾. pp. xiv + 48. London: Kegan Paul, 1933. 12*s*. 6*d*.

Most English verse-translations of Persian minor poets lie beyond the purview of a scientific journal, being too often the work of amateurs whose learning is no greater than their skill in versifying. The present volume, though to some extent (as will be shown below) typical of its class, is distinguished by meritorious features. Besides a biography of the poet, based on Rashid-i Yásimí's *Aḥwál-i Ibn-i Yamín*

(Teheran, A.H. 1303), it contains the original text of the hundred *qiṭ'as* selected for translation. Ibn Yamin writes easily and elegantly, and these extracts would form a useful introduction to the study of Persian poetry; from that point of view the fact that they deal with commonplace topics and hardly do justice to deeper aspects of the poet's philosophy is rather an advantage than otherwise. Moreover, since both the Indian editions (Bhopal and Calcutta) of Ibn Yamin are practically inaccessible, the text now published has a value of its own. In preparing it the author was aided by Professor Maḥfúẓu'l-Ḥaqq and other Indian scholars. I have collated portions of it with a fifteenth-century manuscript of the *Muqaṭṭa'át* numbered V 20 in the *Descriptive Catalogue of Oriental MSS.* belonging to the late Professor Browne, and append a few necessary corrections together with some variant readings that seem to me worthy of consideration.

P. 2, l. 6, read باید for باشد. P. 4, penult., read اصلی for اصلا. In the last line of the same page V 20 has بتمویج سراب. P. 5, l. 12, V 20 reads هستیت را for هستیت داد. P. 6, l. 14, read صعودی, which is the obvious antithesis to سقوطی. P. 6, penult., insert زآن پس after خود. V 20 نام و ننگ تو. P. 7, l. 13, the opposite of خواری is not غیرت, but عزّت. Read عزّتی. P. 8, l. 5 from foot, read کاغیار غم کس است که او یار عقل نیست, "the stranger to sorrow is he (alone) who is not associated with intellect." In the next line V 20 reads بلبلان for باغبان. P. 9, l. 13, read زآنکه در مجلس, and in the next line ناقص القول. P. 13, l. 4, read with V 20 انتظاری for اعتباری, which has already been used as a rhyme-word. P. 14, l. 7, کسی کو is a better reading. P. 16, l. 2, V 20 تا بجانی مگرد ازین منهاج. P. 16, 5 from foot, read خود بلا نبود. P. 17, l. 8, read بیاید بگذرد, "comes and goes." P. 18, l. 3, V 20 درگشت زار دهر. P. 23, l. 4, the metre

requires همنشین. In l. 14 read with V 20 ارچه که بس نزدیکم. P. 30, l. 5, the metre requires نصیبی. P. 31, l. 7, the metre requires خوش نظران. V 20 has خوش پسران. P. 33, l. 10, read نیائی برم. P. 35, l. 9, read با عقل کار دیده. P. 42, l. 12, the metre requires کای. P. 43, penult., read with V 20 گر از خود آگهی خواهی.

The English version and notes are less satisfactory. The former is described as "a simple paraphrase" and as a rule it conveys the general sense of the Persian faithfully enough, though not so artistically as the free rendering in German verse by Schlechta-Wssehrd. At the same time one cannot help observing a good many lapses, e.g.

P. 2, l. 5 from foot.

"As shepherd take a lamb that watches late
Rather than dog that has a wolf to mate."

This would surely be a counsel of despair. What Ibn Yamin says is that lambs are better guarded by their shepherd than by a treacherous dog.

P. 15, l. 7, the words نه تو خودرا عفو همی خوانی are rendered "Thy mercy is for Thy frail creatures meant", with note "Lit. *Thou dost not pardon Thyself*". The correct translation, of course, is "Dost not Thou call Thyself the Pardoner". See *Qur'án*, xxii, 59.

P. 18, penult. The storm-wind is said to

"Uproot old cypress trees with its fierce gust
But feed the humble pasture lands with dust."

The second line, literally translated, runs: "How should dust (calamity) overtake the grass?" The proud are felled, the lowly have nothing to fear.

P. 30, l. 6, "Avoid the devil—choose the angel's part," with note "Lit. *Pass to excellence from the angel*". Correct translation: "Abandon devilry and surpass the angels in excellence."

Such examples make one hesitate to recommend to young students a work which, as I have pointed out, is of some interest to scholars. Personally, I feel grateful to the author for having caused me to improve my acquaintance with Ibn Yamin.

893. R. A. NICHOLSON.

THE ANIMAL STYLE AMONG THE NOMAD TRIBES OF NORTHERN TIBET. By J. N. ROERICH. 11¼ × 9, pp. 42, pls. 5, ills. 10. Prague: Seminarium Kondakovianum, 1930.

Der Autor geht von der Annahme aus, dass die durch chinesische Quellenschriften verbürgten Kontakte zwischen den Vorfahren der Tibeter und den alten Bewohnern der eurasischen Steppe auch in der Kunst einen Niederschlag gefunden haben müssen. Man besass bisher nichts, was mit Sicherheit auf die "Man" der Urzeit oder die "Tangut" der Mitte des nachchristl. Jahrtausends zurückgeführt werden könnte, während man gerade in den letzten Jahren Kunstgut der gleichzeitigen Bewohner des Steppengürtels in grosser Anzahl gefunden hat. Roerich zählt die nordasiatischen Gegenden auf, in denen der Spaten des Archäologen noch nicht angesetzt wurde. Unter diesen ist jetzt Uriangkhai, die Sowjet-Republik Tannu Tuwa zu streichen, dort grub 1929 S. Teplooukhoff mit grossem Erfolg. Seine Funde harren freilich noch der Veröffentlichung. Roerich fand bei seinen Arbeiten in Tibet drei Gruppen von Denkmälern: (1) Gräber, (2) Megalithe, (3) Gegenstände des Tierstils. Der Archäologie gehören die beiden ersten an. Diese liefern gewiss interessante Parallelen zu nordwestlichen Dingen, sie sind aber noch in keiner Weise datierbar und enthalten nicht die geringste Spur des Tierstils. Der Roerich-Expedition war freilich eine systematische Untersuchung von Gräbern untersagt. Die Tiermotive, von denen im Titel der Arbeit die Rede ist, finden sich also nur an

ethnographischem Material, d.h. an relativ späten Dingen. Der Autor grenzt ihr Verbreitungsgebiet im nördlichen Tibet ab und liefert damit einen nützlichen Beitrag zur Völkerkunde. Wenn er aber die Tierbilder mit der Beimischung iranischen oder skythischen Blutes in bestimmten Teilen Tibets in Verbindung bringt, so geht er zu weit. Diese Rehe (figs. 6 and 7, pls. I, II (1 and 3), III (2)) und Vögel (pl. II (2)) hängen nicht mit der Kunst des Steppengürtels sondern nur mit dem letzten, nach 1000 nach Chr. anzusetzenden Tierstil der nordchinesischen Grenze zusammen. Sie gehören also wie auch die Fabeltiere (fig. 8, pl. III (3), pl. IV) zum chinesischen Import. Dass dieser selbst bei den Huftieren (aber nicht bei den Phantasiewesen) von der Steppenkunst angeregt wurde, ist nicht zu bestreiten. Aber der Weg der Filtration verläuft anders, als Roerich annimmt. Diese degenerierten tibetischen Metallarbeiten gehen in ihren kaum erkennbaren Darstellungen (auf pl. I (2), sind es nicht Füchse sondern wieder Rehe, die um einen Baum stehen) nicht auf südrussische Funde, nicht auf die Metallplatten von Noin ulla zurück, sondern direkt auf eine Sonderentwicklung der nordchinesischen Grenze. Die Beziehungen zwischen dem Schwert der Tibeter und dem der alten Sarmaten scheinen nach den Ausführungen des Autors gleichfalls nicht gesichert. Zur Methode der Darlegung wäre zu sagen, dass moderne Arbeiten nicht für alte Formbeziehungen herangezogen werden sollten; Ethnographie und Kunstgeschichte können sich erst ergänzen, wenn die grossen zeitlichen Spannungen zwischen ihren Materialien durch Denkmäler überbrückt sind.

734 ALFRED SALMONY.

DIE MATERIELLE KULTUR DES KABULGEBIETES. By Dr. BRUNO MARKOWSKI. (Publications of the Geographical Institute of the Albertus University, Königsberg in Prussia, New Series, Ethnography, No. 2.) 10 × 7, pp. viii + 154, pls. 35. Leipzig: Verlag Asia Major G.m.b.H., 1932. RM. 17; bound 20.

Dr. Markowski was Master of German at the Amania College at Kābul from 1923 to 1926, founded by the ex-King Amanullāh Khān. He made excellent use of the time he spent in Afghānistān. He had an open eye for everything around him, and his keen interest in customs of a foreign land, his deep sympathy with the Afghāns, and his perseverance in securing information resulted in a collection of objects and data of everyday life in Afghānistān that reminds us of the Arab geographers. If might be argued that his book is rather dry to read and has something of the style of an article in an encyclopædia. On the other hand, however, nobody can disagree that the whole book is packed with information from cover to cover on almost every conceivable matter.

Exception must be taken, however, to the first part of the book which bears the title, *Die Grundlagen der materiellen Kultur des Kabulgebietes*. These "Foundations", covering some thirty pages, contain very little original matter or genuine personal information. They are, in fact, compiled mainly from books chosen with little discrimination. English readers will be somewhat surprised to hear that among the authorities quoted there are only two English ones, one dated 1815 (Elphinstone, *Caubul*), and another dated 1878 (Malleson, *History of Afghanistan*). As excellent as these are, there are certainly many modern works which the author could have consulted with much profit. French authorities are similarly badly represented, and the "Literaturverzeichnis" containing forty-two items, is not much better. The reader is, therefore, advised to leave this introductory portion on geography, flora, fauna, inhabitants, languages, and religion unread, and

begin on page 31. One could discuss quite a number of assertions in that first chapter, but as they are taken almost entirely from other, mostly very old, books, we shall not waste our space with these. Let us, however, mention that very few people will agree with the author on his explanation of Alexander the Great's retreat through Gedrosia—a theory which he took from a book published in 1849!

Part ii is entirely different. Here Dr. Markowski provides us with first-hand information under eight main headings, viz. Building, Clothing, Food, Servants, Agriculture, Commerce and Traffic, Currency, and Industry, and there is also a table of Afghān measures at the end. Under each heading one gets exhaustive and obviously thoroughly reliable information on more matters than one could expect. The author goes into the most minute details, and one feels that while following his description one could almost build an Afghān house, from the manufacture of the bricks up to the roof, and I believe that his recipes on food would be sufficient for a good cook to prepare any of the Afghān dishes he mentions! Chapter ii, on clothing, is very instructive. Both male and female clothes are minutely described, including such accessories of dressing as bags for tobacco and kohl, etc. There is useful information in chapter iv about servants, and the reference to the successful abolishment of serfdom will be received with satisfaction in the West. The technical knowledge of the author on every possible subject, including the manufacture of textiles, carpets, etc., is truly astonishing.

It is a matter of regret that not all his photographs could be published owing to financial considerations. Those reproduced are very good, and the drawings, from the author's own hand, serve a useful purpose. Their numbering, however, is rather embarrassing, as e.g. Fig. 7 contains ten drawings which are again numbered Fig. 1, Fig. 2, etc. This could easily have been avoided by calling all the plates simply *Tafel*.

More objectionable is the author's spelling of indigenous

words and names. *Chorosan*, *Badachschan*, *Lachman*, *Siahpusch*, *Peissâh* (Paisa !), *Belutschistan*, *Kuh-i schâhr derwasa*, *Penschir*, *Pagmahn*, *Schindauel* (in a note the author adds : "pronounce : *Schindawel*"), *Nidschrau*, and *Hilment* are a few instances. It cannot even be said that this is a German phonetic spelling, for if he writes *Pagmahn* with an *h* to show the length of the vowel, then he ought to put *Baluhtschistahn*, *Kahbul*, and *Khorahsahn*. Once he writes *tachta*, another time *Takht*. On p. 8 we see *Shakardara*, and on p. 9 *Hadj*, which, according to German spelling would be *Schakardara* and *Hadsch*. Very few people will guess what the word *Orduh* means ; "the present language of communication in India which is understood in the whole of Northern India and partly up to Kabul," says Dr. Markowski. We recommend him the spelling Urdū or Urdu, accepted already by thousands if not by millions of writers. The "almost pure Sanskrit" *schungas putro* (p. 28) means not "verfluchter Hund" but rather "Hundensohn".

All these matter little, and can be easily explained and forgiven. But there is one thing one does not forgive. It is the lack of an index.

556. C. L. FÁBRI.

A MALAY–ENGLISH DICTIONARY (ROMANIZED). By R. J. WILKINSON. 12 × 9, pt. i, pp. iv + 631 ; pt. ii, pp. 664. Mytilene : Salavopoulos & Kinderlis, 1932.

The author of this dictionary is not by any means "a man of one book". He has many *opuscula* to his credit, but this is his *magnum opus*—a gigantic work for one man to have carried out, even when every allowance has been made for contributions received from others. In the first edition, which began to appear in 1901, the Malay catchwords were printed in the Arabic character and in the corresponding alphabetical order, but accompanied by romanized equivalents and (where necessary) citations. I confess that I do not

consider the new arrangement an improvement; but no doubt it has facilitated the printing of the work in the remote Greek island where the author now lives. It is difficult to estimate the number of words dealt with, as it varies a good deal from page to page. If, at a rough guess, we take it to average twenty, the total works out at over 25,000, considerably exceeding that of the first edition, in which the author avowedly did not aim at completeness; and it fully proves the fact, perhaps not generally recognized, that the Malay language possesses a respectably large vocabulary. In a good many cases various dialect forms are given, which will be useful to students of the colloquial stationed in the regions where they prevail. Many of the words are illustrated by quotations; but I regret to observe that some of those which appeared in the first edition have been excluded from the new one although in certain cases others have been added.

There is another, more fundamental, point which calls for notice. Malay words can be divided, both scientifically and practically, into two main classes, viz. simple words, being such as are morphologically and semantically indivisible, and derived words made up from simple ones by the addition of formative syllables. Dictionaries are usually, and rightly, arranged in the alphabetical order of the simple words, any words derived from a simple word being then given under it in the same entry. This arrangement of course involves some knowledge of the morphology of the language, which the student must get from a grammar before he can efficiently use his dictionary. Malay possesses an apparatus of about a dozen formatives, including prefixes and suffixes, which, either singly or in a limited number of permissible combinations, can be attached to some of the simple words and thereby affect their function or meaning. But not every word is capable of taking on every one of such possible accretions; and the change in meaning caused by the addition of a given formative is not always precisely the same.

It follows, therefore, that the ideally complete dictionary

should contain all the derived words that can be recorded as being actually in use, either in the colloquial or in the texts, together with their shades of meaning. If anyone suggests that the proper place for this is a grammar, the answer is that the mass of such material would swell the grammar to the dimensions of a dictionary. To illustrate the point by a concrete case, there is a word *mĕnyĕrtaï*, derived from *sĕrta* (which is the Sanskrit *sartha*). It should therefore appear under *sĕrta*; and in the first edition of this dictionary it duly did so, together with its meaning and five text references. In the new edition it is not to be found, though the word occurs in more than one book and several times in the *Hikayat Abdullah*. It is only one among many in that work that are missing; and in reading the same author's *Pĕlayaran* and also the extracts from the *Sĕjarah Mĕlayu* (styled in its English translation "Malay Annals") and the *Hang Tuah*, contained in the *Malay Reader* (Oxford, 1917, pp. 40–91), all of which are well-known works duly listed among the author's sources, I have met with a considerable number of words, mostly derived forms, which are either not in the dictionary at all or not entered with the particular shade of meaning indicated by the context. The same remark applies to certain cases of idiom where two or more words are used in a sense that does not follow obviously from the ordinary meaning of either of them (as, for example, in English the use of "look out!" in the sense of "take care!"). In particular it would have added to the value of the dictionary if there had been an indication of the appropriate prepositions used with verbs, especially when the usage differs from our own. Thus a Malay says that he "has separated with" (not "from") his wife, when he means that he has divorced her. Owing to the number of such cases the dictionary seems to be the proper place for recording them.

In spite, however, of these shortcomings there can be no doubt at all that this is the best Malay dictionary in existence and will hold that position for a long time. Although reference

to other works may still on occasion be necessary, it will stand as a worthy monument to its author, whose name will be remembered as long as Malay studies are of any interest to English readers.

In his preface the author gives an account of the genesis and development of the work from its early beginnings in 1895 to the issue of the new edition, including the story of the lamentable loss of much irreplaceable manuscript material when the Turks burnt Smyrna in 1922. It is a very interesting narrative and apart from illustrating the author's devotion to lexicography, which he pursued while carrying on his official duties, it reveals his love of the people and country which he served so well in both of these ways. Acknowledgments are duly made of the assistance given by other persons, among whom the first was Mr. W. W. Skeat, who originally suggested the undertaking and entered into a collaboration which lasted during its early stages but was unfortunately destined, though through no choice of his, to come to a premature end.

The printing is excellent and the proof reading has been carefully done. I have noticed the following errors. The catchword *gërtak* appears as *gërsut* and under *chupak* it is stated that the official *chupak* "contains 2·1441 litres or just over a quart". The ordinary tables of weights and measures tell us that one quart equals 1·1365 litre and one gallon is 4·5459 litres. I presume, therefore, that for "2·1441 litres" we should read "1·1441 litre". Also *chupak* is termed, by a slip of the pen, "a measure of weight," instead of "a measure of capacity".

C. O. Blagden.

502.

Grammaire Élémentaire du Sanskrit Classique. By Henri Courbin. Publié sous les auspices de l'Institut de Civilisation Indienne de Paris. $10\frac{3}{4} \times 7\frac{1}{4}$. Première Partie : Grammaire, pp. 128. Deuxième Partie : Exercises, pp. 117. Paris : Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1931. Frs. 50.

This work is intended for the beginner. The first part contains a descriptive grammar of Classical Sanskrit, the second a few extracts from Sanskrit texts, followed by exercises in French for translation into Sanskrit ; each of these sections is provided with a vocabulary. Roman transliteration has wisely been employed throughout, but the devanāgarī alphabet is explained in an appendix. The whole is in handwriting reproduced by some photographic process ; a truly beautiful calligraphy, but with the inconveniences inseparable from such a manner of composition.

The descriptive part of the work is on the whole clear and well planned, though there are some points which might have been better put. In particular the sections on pronunciation may be cited. For the author appears to describe a pronunciation which does not agree either with what we know of the earlier pronunciation of Sanskrit or with any system employed in India. *a* should not be pronounced as in French, but as [ʌ]. Why should Greek and Latin words be given as models for the pronunciation of the diphthongs *ai* and *au* ? Anusvāra is something other than the nasalization of a preceding vowel. Apart from the descriptions of the grammarians we have the evidence of the modern languages, in which the group *aṁs* > *ā̃s* precisely as the group *att* > *āt*. Nor is it correct to say that in the case of final *-m* before a labial, the use of *-ṁ* was purely graphic. The final sounds of Sanskrit were unexploded (the author makes no mention of this important fact of pronunciation), and *-ṁ* represents the unexploded final *-m*, the subsequent history of which differed from that of *m* proper before a labial in the middle of a word. The statement that in practice the cerebral *ṭ* is pronounced like the dental *t* is

modified by a proviso that in principle it is like the English *t*. English *t* is strongly aspirated, the point of contact with the roof of the mouth is in front of the teeth ridge (not behind), and the contact is made with the tongue tip (not the underside of the tip). After remarking that *h* is included among the voiced sounds the author likens its pronunciation to that of initial English or German *h*. These are unvoiced: Skt. *h* was voiced, and in the majority of the Indo-Aryan languages has remained voiced to this day.

There are some omissions. On p. 14 on the use of the indeclinable participle there is no mention of the fact (important for the beginner) that its subject is the logical subject of the sentence. On p. 98 the statement that to form its causative *ruh-* inserts a *p* (" consonne de transition ") between root and suffix would not enable the student to arrive at *ropayati*.

But the main defect of the book—and it is a serious one—is that the author does not content himself with description, but attempts historical explanation without apparently possessing the necessary linguistic equipment. This has led to many mistakes, especially regrettable in a work designed for the beginner. On p. 9 *-y-* and *-n-* of the forms *pāpāyās*, etc., and *pāpānām* are wrongly called " consonnes de transition ". On p. 10 *asi* is derived from **as-si*, whereas Gk. εἶ points to IE. **esi*. On p. 25 the sandhi of final *-as* before a vowel other than *a* is explained by the sequence *-as* > *-o* > *-av* > *-a*, instead of *-as* > **-az* (with unexploded *z*) > *-a*. On p. 31 *ś*, *j*, and *h* are called " d'origine cérébrale ": they may under certain circumstances *result* in cerebrals, they are certainly not cerebrals by origin. In explaining that *rūḍha-* (p. 32) is derived from *rudh-ta-* the author writes " l'occlusive dentale sonore aspirée (*dh*) s'affaiblit, *dans des conditions qui ne sont pas claires*, en une sifflante cérébrale sonore aspirée **ẓh* ", and in a note even suggests that *dh* after a vowel other than *a* was subject to cerebralization. He entirely ignores the accepted theory that between two dentals

in IE. there developed a sibilant, thus *rudh-to >* rudᶻdho- and that in a group dzd the d was lost in pre-Sanskrit. While, therefore, assuming a root *rudh-, rūḍha- displays a perfectly regular development, it is buddha- beside Av. buždo which requires a special explanation. From the historical point of view it is misleading to say (p. 33) that in *dhokṣyati* (as opposed to *duhanti*) the initial aspirate reappears. In face of other IE. forms, it is at least rash, and quite unnecessary, to state (p. 56) that the *ṣ* of *teṣām* is analogical after *teṣu*, or the *sy* of *tasyās*, etc., after *tasya*.

If anyone thinks too great stress has been laid upon these defects in a work which has certain definite merits of clearness and arrangement, let him ponder Meillet's words (*BSL.*, 94, p. 14), " Toutes les fois que des grammairiens qui n'étaient pas des linguistes avertis ont voulu expliquer des faits des langues qu'ils décrivaient, ils ont accumulé les erreurs."

296. R. L. TURNER.

RESEARCHES IN MANICHAEISM : With special reference to the Turfan Fragments. By A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON. $8\frac{3}{4} \times 6$, pp. xxxviii + 394, figs. 1. New York : Columbia University Press, 1932. 31*s*.

Professor Jackson's interest in Oriental religions has long been attested by his work on the Zoroastrian religion. He has brought the same enthusiasm to the study of the Manichean texts, and has here presented the results of his researches which have occupied him more than ten years, as he himself has noted. After an introduction intended for the general reader, the two cosmogonic texts, M. 98–9 and S. 9, are treated in detail. It is curious that it should have escaped the author's notice that S. 9 is an acrostic poem, as has since been proved by Henning in *NGGW*. 1932. Professor Jackson has added copious notes, in which not rarely he has been able to incorporate matter the result of later research. On many points more recent publications have thrown light. Thus we

now know the *mazan* as a sea-monster (see Henning, *Mitteliranische Manichaica*, i), and hence on p. 68 the word *srhyg* is certainly *zrihīy* "marine". It may be suggested that the uncertain *'npepyn* on p. 30 is **an-aspīn* "restless", if we compare the Pāzand *aspīn* "rest". The word occurs also in Pahlavi. The meaning of *ahrēvar* is probably given by the Avestan *awrāi.vairi* of Aogəmaedaēča 28 (where Geiger's emendation, adopted in the *AIW*., is not acceptable).

It is useful to have these texts once more easily accessible. They had quickly become unprocurable in the German and Russian editions.

A new study of the *ŠGV*. passage criticising Manicheism is given on p. 176 fol., and also a reprint of the article on the Dēnkart attack on Mānī. Here I would prefer to read the epithet of Mānī as *druž astak Mānē* comparing Avestan *drūǰō dəmānāi astayō*.

Part iv contains a new rendering of the passage of Bar Konai treating of Manicheism. It is almost entirely the work of A. Yohannan. It is of value to have this independent translation.

The author has throughout carefully studied and utilized all the numerous works on his subject and has recorded his indebtedness with unfailing courtesy. The result is a pleasant and interesting book.

43S.

H. W. Bailey.

Études d'Éthiopien Méridional. By Marcel Cohen. In the *Collection d'ouvrages orientaux*, published by the Société Asiatique. 10 × 6½, pp. xvi + 416. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1931. Frs. 100.

Every member of the small band of students of Ethiopia and her history and languages, ancient and modern, will welcome the appearance of this learned but highly technical work. It is a continuation of the series of printed monographs which we owe to the distinguished Oriental philologist, M. Marcel Cohen, and contains much which supplements his

article in the *Journal Asiatique* (vol. xxvii, p. 169, 1927), his larger work entitled *Mission linguistique* (Paris, 1912), and his *Langues du Monde*, Paris, 1924. The first book of the *Études* contains four chapters dealing with ancient Ethiopia, interpretation, characteristic features of the languages of Abyssinia, and ends with an outline map showing where the different languages are spoken. Book II deals with the Gouragué language. Book III with the Harari language. Book IV with Argobba and the neighbouring dialects, and book V with Amharic. These books are divided into chapters, in which step by step the mysteries of the various grammars of the dialects are made clear. The book dealing with the Gouragué dialects will prove the most interesting to scholars, although much has been written about them by Praetorius, Chiarini, Mondon-Vidailhet, and Azaïs and Chambard. The people of the Gouragué district speak a Semitic dialect which has found its way among the Sidama peoples, with whom they have intermarried. The philological problems connected with this Semitic dialect are difficult to solve, but the labours of M. Cohen will certainly make them easier. The chapter on Gouragué grammar and the transcripts of Gouragué and Harari texts with interlinear translations will be to the general student the most interesting parts of the book. The reproductions of Harari texts in Arabic letters on pp. 336–7, 344–5, are most helpful. Marcel Cohen's results should be studied side by side with those obtained by Azaïs and Chambard (*Cinq Années de Recherches Archéologiques en Éthiopie*, text and plates, Paris, 1931), for taken together they throw a flood of light on the language, religion, and manners and customs of many of the peoples of Southern Ethiopia which until now have been practically unknown. M. Cohen's chapters supply much new material which we must add to our dictionaries, and in saying this we do not for one moment forget the great debt which we owe to Father J. Baeteman for his *Dictionnaire Amarigna-Français* (Dire-Daoua (Ethiopia), 1929).

435. E. A. WALLIS BUDGE.

Moses im Lichte der Agada. Von Dr. Phil. Aaron Rosmarin. 9 × 6, pp. 157. New York: The Goldblatt Publishing Co., 1932.

In this monograph the author's aim has been to construct a continuous narrative of the life of the great Jewish law-giver by piecing together the various accounts found in the Midrashic and Agadic literatures. The composite narrative thus produced fails to achieve any organic or artistic unity, but consists rather of a series of minute and laboriously constructed mosaics. The value of the book, however, lies in the wealth of references to Midrashic and allied sources, which will be invaluable to students of the subject.

If we miss in the author's introduction any attempt to deal scientifically with the growth and evolution of the Mosaic legends; to separate the earlier strata from the later accretions; to classify and co-ordinate the material; to establish the affiliations, to offer suggestions as to the chronological order of the Midhrāshīm—we are none the less grateful for what Dr. Rosmarin has actually done.

647

J. Leveen.

The Life of a Mogul Princess: Jahānarā Begum, Daughter of Shahjehan. By Andrea Butenschön, with an Introduction by Laurence Binyon. 8½ × 5½, pp. xiii + 221, ills. 26. London: Routledge, 1931.

This is a novel of the last days of Shāh Jahān, depicting the struggle in which Aurangzeb finally disposed of the rightful heir, Dārā Shikoh. It professes to be a translation from the Persian of Jahānarā Begum, sister of the two princes, who witnesses the misfortunes of her favourite brother, at the same time suffering from a secret and unhappy love affair. The author has brought off her "translation from the Persian" with fair success, but there are passages which rather recall Ouida.

407

J. Allan.

HISTORY OF PRE-MUSULMAN INDIA. By V. RANGACHARYA. Vol. I, Prehistoric India. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$, pp. vii + 247. Madras: Huxley Press, 1929. 4s. 6d.

This is the first volume of an ambitious work to be completed in nine volumes. It covers the prehistoric period in India down to the coming of the Aryans. The author has collected and presented in readable fashion the results of recent research on the early history of man in India, the palæolithic and neolithic ages in India, the early use or absence of metals in India, and the excavations at Harappa and Mohenjo-daro. A concluding chapter, dealing with the Aryans and theories of their origin, while quite up-to-date, revives too much, old and modern, that had better be forgotten. The author has rendered a great service in bringing together much that is only available in widely scattered sources. It is a pity that the proofs of so useful a book have not been corrected with more care.

81. J. ALLAN.

THE ART OF WAR IN ANCIENT INDIA. By GOVIND TRYAMBAK DATE. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. 61 + 86 + vi, pl. 1. London: Humphrey Milford, 1929. 4s. 6d.

This little book gives the outlines of the Hindu art of war as gleaned from the epics and the Arthaśāstra. There is not really much about tactics and strategy in it, the bulk of the book dealing with weapons and other paraphernalia of war. The author concludes with some remarks on the ethics of warfare and the causes of the military disasters so regularly suffered by the Hindus. Naval warfare is not mentioned. While quite a useful compilation so far as it goes, the book does not deserve its ambitious title. Much more use should have been made of medieval literature.

80. J. ALLAN.

MEMOIRS OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA. No. 23. The Haihayas of Tripuri and their monuments. By R. D. BANERJI. 13½ × 10, pp. iv + 152, pls. 57. Calcutta: Government of India Central Publication Branch, 1931. £1 17s. 6d.

MEMOIRS OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA. No. 24. Rock-paintings and other Antiquities of Prehistoric and Later Times. By MANORANJAM GHOSH. 13½ × 10, pp. vi + 26, pls. 28. Calcutta: Government of India Central Publication Branch, 1932. £1 1s. 9d.

Mr. Banerji has undertaken an archæological survey which should be of great importance for the reconstruction of an obscure period of Indian history. The region of his explorations is within the Baghelkhand Agency, and he tells us that he succeeded in revising and exploring all the important archæological sites in the Rewa State situated in the northern and southern parganas. He first analyses the chronological evidence, to which he has added by discovering six new inscriptions with dates beginning from the tenth century. He describes the monuments, images, and sculptures, and discusses Śaiva influence, especially as seen in a succession of Śaiva ascetics. There are also traces of Jainism, but very little of Buddhism.

Mr. Ghosh's study of the rock-paintings is welcome for more than one reason. Except for those at Hoshangabad they have been known for some time, and an accurate description of what is actually there is highly important, not only for Indian archæology, but for the purpose of comparison with other cultures. In 1923, Mr. P. Mitra reproduced some of them, but he also included others, which really belong to places as far away as Egypt and Spain. This error has already produced unfortunate results among archæologists, who were unable to check the ascriptions. In the copy of Mr. Mitra's work in the Cambridge University Library, Dr. Haddon and Mr. M. C. Burkitt have identified their real source. It is necessary to point this out, because even in his

second edition Mr. Mitra has retained three of his unintentional mystifications.

Mr. Ghosh visited four sites, all in the central plateau, which has been least touched by later cultures. At Singanpur and Hoshangabad (both in the Central Provinces) and in the Son valley in the Mirzapur District he found rock-paintings. They are pictures of animals, hunting scenes, and conventional symbols. Mr. Percy Brown is quoted as saying that the Mirzapur paintings bear a resemblance to those of Cogul in Spain, but Mr. Ghosh puts the date of these as from the fourth to the tenth century A.D. The accompanying painted inscriptions are of that date, and Mr. Ghosh says they are contemporary.

At these places and at Chakradharpur (Chhota Nagpur Division) a large number of palæolithic implements were found. Their description appears to be scarcely sufficient to make it possible to give a due estimate of their archæological significance.

24, 630. E. J. THOMAS.

CHINA YESTERDAY AND TO-DAY. By E. T. WILLIAMS. Publisher: George G. Harrap & Co., Ltd.

To students of Chinese the surname of Williams has been very familiar for a very long time, for in 1833, S. Wells Williams arrived at Canton and in 1848 published his work entitled *The Middle Kingdom*, which in 1895 was republished under the title *The Middle Kingdom: a Survey of the Geography, Government, Literature, Social Life, Arts, and History of the Chinese Empire and its Inhabitants.* This work for long was the textbook which students of Chinese, who desired to gain a general knowledge of China, studied, its predecessor *The Chinese: a General Description of the Empire of China and its Inhabitants*, by John Francis Davies, F.R.S., etc., late His Majesty's Chief Superintendent in China, first published in 1836, having become difficult to procure owing to its various

editions being out of print. *The Middle Kingdom* will always remain a useful work, the author having been long resident in China and well acquainted with the language and its people. But between 1895, the date of the last edition of *The Middle Kingdom*, and 1933, the date of the last issue of the work under review, is a long interval during which many stirring events have happened in China and great changes have taken place. The time was, therefore, fully ripe for a work that would be able to bring the labours of Wells Williams up to date, and would, at the same time, be useful to students as a textbook. In his work, *China Yesterday and To-day*, Professor Williams has well performed this task, and it is a curious coincidence that his surname is the same as that of the author of *The Middle Kingdom* and, like him also, he hails from the United States of America. His work was first published in 1923 and its popularity is shown by the fact that it has passed through five editions, the fifth revised edition having appeared in 1932. The author, unlike many who have written confidently regarding China and the Chinese without possessing any real knowledge of the country or its people, is exceptionally qualified for his task. He may have been born in China, at any rate he resided there for many years; speaks its language; reads its literature; served in the Legation of the United States of America at Peking, where he became Chargé d'Affaires; was Chief of the Division of Far Eastern Affairs in the Department of State; and is the Agassiz Professor of Oriental Languages and Literature in the University of California. With such qualifications as these it is not surprising that Professor Williams has written a standard work which will be of great value to all who are interested in China and will be a useful textbook for students who have to pay particular attention to that part of the world. Owing to want of space, it is impossible to deal in detail with the various chapters of this work, which cover so much ground and such a long period of time. It must suffice here to state generally that the author has

treated the various subjects with which he deals in a scholarly and efficient manner, and his chapters on the recent history of events in China are especially interesting. The chapter on literature has little or no reference to the literary renascence in China which is an omission that should be rectified in a future edition. The bibliography, which is useful so far as it goes and which does not profess to be complete, should be enlarged and such authorities as R. F. Johnston, T. Watters, J. Chalmers, E. Faber, Forke, Wilhelm, as well as others, should certainly be included. In the account of the T'aip'ing Rebellion, the author has not given to Tsêng Kuo-fan as much credit as he deserves for the prominent part he played for many years in the suppression of the Rebellion, and the bibliography has no mention of W. J. Hail's *Tsêng Kuo-fan and the T'aip'ing Rebellion*, the best book in English hitherto published on the subject.

The publishers, Messrs. G. Harrap & Co., Ltd., are to be congratulated on the excellent manner in which the work has been produced and on the illustrations.

Professor Williams' work is a worthy successor to *The Middle Kingdom* of his fellow-countryman, S. Wells Williams, and can be strongly recommended to the ever-increasing number of those who are interested in China.

875. J. H. STEWART LOCKHART.

DER TELL HALAF, EINE NEUE KULTUR IM ÄLTESTEN MESOPOTAMIEN. By MAX FR. VON OPPENHEIM. 9 × 6, pp. 276, ills. 131, plans 2. Leipzig: F. A. Brockhous, 1931. M. 12 and 14.

Since I have already written a long review of this important book, *Oxford Magazine*, 15th June, 1933, 810-14, the main points may be treated summarily here. Professor Götze, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, xli, 243-255, exposed the impossible thesis of Oppenheim and Herzfeld in assigning the sculptures of the Aramaic dynasty (1200-1000 B.C.) of Halaf to the early painted ware

period. Tell Halaf, the Guzana of the Assyrian period, Gôzân of the Old Testament, to which Sargon transported Israelites in 722 B.C., is proved to have been a neolithic settlement on the western branch of the Habur. A long period consisting of three types of hand-made painted monochrome and polychrome ware succeeded the neolithic period reaching down to a period *circa* 3000 B.C. After a long lapse of time in which there are no monuments or objects of any kind, the Aramaic dynasty, of which Kapara, son of Ḫadiânu, seems to have been the last ruler, is richly represented by Hurrite monuments certainly not earlier than 1500 B.C. Oppenheim and, in Appendix I, Herzfeld defend the preposterous theory that the sculptures belong to the early period, the small orthostats in limestone being dated as early as 3100 and the great statues of gods in the time of Gudea. The rude but powerful art of the bas-reliefs and sculptures is definitely Hurrite, and many of the *motifs* are precisely similar to those on seals from Kerkuk (seventeenth–sixteenth centuries B.C.). Gold plaques found in royal tombs of the Aramaic period show the same *motifs* as the sculptures.

At Jebelet el Baida, 70 kilometres south-east of Halaf, Oppenheim recovered a Sumerian statue of the very archaic period and two stelæ of a somewhat later Sumerian period. This was also a remarkable find, showing for the first time Sumerian culture *circa* 3000 B.C. so far west as the Habur Valley. The munificence and devotion to science shown by Baron von Oppenheim have thrown a new light upon the history of northern and western Asia. The religious *motifs* revealed by the sculptures of Hurrite civilization in the second half of the second millennium B.C. reveal a strange mixture of indigenous conceptions mingled with Egyptian and Babylonian influences. But scholars will universally regret the theory (which runs through the entire book) that Kapara and his ancestors (*circa* 1200–1000 B.C.) found all these engraved slabs and statues in the early layer of painted ware and re-used them for their temple and palace. The scientific

publication will presumably give a stratification table and publish the Cuneiform and Aramaic texts of the Assyrian period of the seventh century.

It is regrettable that a popular book of this excellent type should mislead amateur reviewers in the press. The book claims far too much for the newness of the material and its bearing upon the history and culture of ancient Subartu. The Carchemish excavations had already established practically the same series of painted ware [1] followed after a long interval by the Mitarini-Hurrite culture. The sculptures of Halaf surpass in variety of new designs and power of execution anything that has been found at Carchemish and Sendjirli. But the sub-title *Eine neue Kultur im ältesten Mesopotamien* applies only to Jebelet el Beiḍa.

454. S. LANGDON.

A DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE OF THE ORIENTAL MSS. BELONGING TO THE LATE E. G. BROWNE. By E. G. BROWNE, completed and edited by R. A. NICHOLSON. 11¼ × 8½, pp. xxii + 326. Cambridge: University Press, 1932. 42*s*.

In his lifetime E. G. Browne spread friendship round him and six years after his death the present volume appears as a token of the devotion of his intimate friends. No better service to his memory could be done, for E. G. B.'s manuscripts were his cherished children. He never missed the one wanted on the spur of the moment, he weighed his precious volumes in his hand so caressingly and with astonishing rapidity spotted the curious passages marked during a careful study of his new acquisitions.

Three hundred and eighty-six items of this *Catalogue* were compiled by Browne himself, and now eighty-two new ones have been added by Professor Nicholson.

[1] The same types of pre-Jemdet Nasr ware have been found at Arpachiyah and Tepe Gawra near Nineveh and at Nineveh itself by Thompson and Mallowan.

Out of the total of 468 manuscripts, 149 deal with religion, 115 with poetry, 76 with history, and 43 with medical and natural sciences. Many interesting manuscripts were acquired by Browne during the later years of his life, namely those belonging to the former collections of Gen. Sir A. Houtum Schindler and H. 'Abd al-Majīd Belshah. If many of them do not now produce the impression of absolute novelty, it is chiefly due to the rapidity with which B. himself hastened to acquaint the learned world with his treasures. Numerous notices of the rare works were contributed by him to this JOURNAL and most of the MSS. were utilized by him in the preparation of the four volumes of his great *Literary History of Persia*. Where Browne has passed there is hardly anything to glean even in such interesting books as Māfarrukhī's *History of Iṣfahān* and the collection of Rashīd al-Dīn's letters. Still the publication of such rare texts would be highly advantageous as has already been that of the *Silsilat al-nasab-i Safawiya*. The *Ghāzān-nāma*, too, written in verse in 758/1357, may throw some new light on the reign of that remarkable ruler and man.

Most of B.'s MSS. are in Persian. Among the non-Persian minority the "Kurdish" *Kitāb-i Mullā Parīshān* looks curious. To judge by the phrase quoted and the colophon the dialect looks like Lakki (southern Kurdish spoken on the confines of Luristān).

p. 98. The word كوجك is transcribed *kūchak*, as usual in Browne, but in the original Turkish the word is *küchik* (= *küchük*) and in Persian, too, it is كوچك, pronounced actually: *kūchēk*.

In a footnote some minor suggestion of the present author is acknowledged by Browne, and this message, coming, as it were, from لا مكان, seems to fall upon the ear like a distant echo of a voice that is, alas, still.

V. MINORSKY.

Mélanges de Philologie Orientale. 10 × 6¼, pp. xvi + 230, ills. 8. Liége: University of Liége, Imprimerie Orientaliste, 228 rue du Bruxelles. 1932.

This interesting volume has been published to commemorate the tenth anniversary of the opening of the Institut Supérieur of History and Oriental Literature in the University of Liége, and is dedicated to the memory of two scholars, Victor Chauvin and Charles Michel, who rendered notable service in the University in connection with Oriental studies. They died in 1913 and 1929 respectively.

The 233 pages of the book contain fourteen articles of different lengths and varying degrees of interest and importance dealing with widely divergent fields of Oriental scholarship. They may be briefly summarized as follows, viz. (1) two articles by Monsieur Bricteux and Monsieur de Generet giving the text and translation of Persian poems hitherto unpublished, (2) a short article by Mlle Gobeaux-Thonet dealing with the question of the identity of two Persian miniature-painters with similar names, (3) three contributions from Cotton, Mansion, and Fohalle connected with Vedic and classical Sanskrit, (4) an article by Janssens, giving the original and translation of a Syriac text in the India Office Library on the strange subject of the ten virtues of the dog, (5) a contribution from Van der Straeten, which does not come to any final conclusion, on the metres of the Hebrew text of the Book of Lamentations, (6) two short articles by Capart and Van de Walle on minor points of Egyptology, (7) two contributions from Dossin and Prickartz on Sumerian, (8) a short article by Gilbert on the origin of funeral pyramids, and lastly a joint article by Dossin and Fohalle on a passage in a Hittite treaty. It will be seen that these articles cover a very wide field, and it would not be possible within the limits of a short review to give any adequate description, much less criticism, of all of them. I propose to confine my remarks almost entirely to the first article, which occupies nearly a quarter of the book and which exceeds in length any

three other articles combined, with the exception of Prickartz's article on the Goudea cylinder.

M. Auguste Bricteux has in this first article given the text and a French translation of a Persian poem of 83 quatrains written by Lisānī of Shīrāz, which is found in a manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale, dated A.H. 994. These quatrains are entitled Shahr-Āshūb, a technical title for a poem of invective directed against the inhabitants of a city, but in this particular poem relating to the city of Tabrīz nothing uncomplimentary is said of the city or its people, on the contrary the city is said to be رشك بتخانهٔ چين, an object of envy of the pagoda of China. The editor does not seem to have realized the nature of the metrical scheme of the varieties of the Hazaj metre, which are used in rubā'īs. He divides the hemistich into three feet, whereas it is essentially a metre of four feet, each of which is a recognized deviation (زحاف) from the standard Hazaj foot, i.e. a short syllable followed by three long syllables. The real metrical scheme of the rubā'ī is not – — — — | ⏓ ⏓ ⏓ ⏓ | — ⏓ — | as given by M. Bricteux, but — — ⏑ | ⏓ ⏓ ⏓ ⏓ | ⏑ — — ⏑ | ⏑ — | subject to the operation of the contraction called تسكين, by which any two adjacent short syllables may be contracted into one long syllable. The French rendering of some lines seems very remote from the original. In quatrain 29 we have

جمعیّت عشق تنگدستی ببرد
آوازه کند بلند و پستی ببرد

This is rendered: "La prospérité de l'amour fait disparaître toute indigence. Le moindre de ses accents emporte tous les êtres grands et petits." The meaning of the original seems to be quite different, viz.: "The tranquillity of love removes indigence, it exalts fame and removes humiliation." In quatrain 42 خرد is rendered "mon esprit", whereas it means

"Wisdom" (personified). Again in quatrain 62 the Persian words

آنچنان مختضرم
از ضعف که نیك در نیاید نظرم

are translated: "Je suis tellement émacié par la faiblesse que je ne vois plus qu'imparfaitement." This seems to be a reversal of the sense, which is: "I have become so emaciated by weakness that I can not easily be seen." The editor of the other Persian poem, a short elegy by Muḥtasham of Kāshān on the death of his brother, the text of which is to be found in the same manuscript of the Paris Library, is also at fault with regard to Persian metres. He states that the metre of the elegy is Muẓāri', but it is really Mujtaṯṯ, i.e. ⏑ — ⏑ — | ⏑ ⏑ — — | ⏑ — ⏑ — | ⏓ — | The metre and the sense both show that the reading آتش at the beginning of the eighteenth *bait* must be بآتش, and the same considerations indicate that the word گر in the second hemistich of the nineteenth *bait* must be omitted. The volume contains a long list of errata, but in one case the reading amended seems to be quite correct. This is the seventeenth *bait*, which runs as follows:—

شبی نمیگذرد کز غمت نمیگذرد
شرار آهم از انجم فغانم از افلاك

This is rendered: "Aucune nuit ne se passe que je ne me chagrine de toi, L'étincelle de mes soupirs va jusqu'aux orbes tournants." The real meaning seems to be: "Not a night passes in which my grief for thee does not cause the sparks from my sighs to pass beyond the stars and my lamentation beyond the skies."

It may be noted in conclusion that this book is printed on very good paper, and that the typography throughout is quite exceptionally excellent.

866. R. P. DEWHURST.

THE LIVING GOD. Basal Forms of Personal Religion. By NATHAN SÖDERBLOM. Oxford: University Press, 1933. 18s.

In this important and most valuable volume we have the Gifford Lectures, delivered by the late Archbishop of Upsala in 1931, in which he distinguishes the principal types of religious experience and illustrates them from a rich store of relevant material. In a second series of lectures he expected to develop a philosophy of religion based on this historical outline, but his death prevented the realization of his hope, though these chapters sufficiently prove his case for belief in the living God.

The book is of special interest to Orientalists, for Söderblom early began the study of Iranian languages, in order to make a study of Oriental religion, for in his view the history of religions stood in organic relation to the central problems of divinity. He held the newly-founded chair in this subject at Leipzig from 1912–14, while also holding the chair of theology at Upsala. By far the greater part of this book is concerned with the religions of the Orient.

Dr. Söderblom begins with a section on training and inspiration in primitive religion, and shows that religion is first personal and then tribal. "If we want to study the essence and elementary forms of religion, we must study the soul life of the individual." Man covets supernatural experience, because in him the Divine and human meet, and however closely he may be tied to this visible world, he has never forgotten his links with the invisible. This supernatural experience is sought by means of asceticism, some form of self-discipline which makes man more fit to draw near to the Divine; but action is not limited to man. Even among primitive peoples there is found a consciousness of Divine action, and it is this which they feel to be the essential part of religion.

In dealing with the higher forms of religion, Dr. Söderblom considers them as representing different types, a "method",

a psychology, devotion, a search for salvation, a struggle between good and evil, conscientious conviction, a revelation in time, a historic incarnation. Religion as "method" he takes to be best represented by Yoga, in which ascetic training reaches its perfection. Religion, and indeed all activity of the mind and soul, demands "ascesis", that is, exercise and self-discipline, and this can be negative, taking the form of the removal of all hindrances, so that the mind may become empty and free, which is the aim of Yoga, or positive, the unconditional occupation of the mind by God, and this has been the aim of Christian and Islamic mystics. But Dr. Söderblom holds that the method of Yoga, while it can accomplish much, cannot impart faith or "sight". Faith is the gift of God, and only by faith joined with thought can man draw nigh to God and obtain knowledge of Him. Passing on to the consideration of religion as a psychological system, as represented by Jainism and Hinayana Buddhism, Dr. Söderblom notes that Buddhism has taken over a good deal from Yoga, and that in Buddhism, Yoga, checked in its excesses, has, in a sense, found its fulfilment, a rational self-salvation. No real god being left in that method of salvation, it has become a religion without divinity.

In the doctrine of Bhakti, religion considered as a form of devotion, we find a new and more popular faith, and belief in a personal relation between the human and the Divine, for the god Krishna is born into the world from time to time, as men need him, and it is through love and trust and faith that man is saved. Here we meet the idea of the living God who has made himself known and come close to man. Love towards God is to fill the whole life of man, his daily work as well as his devotional exercises; in its highest form, therefore, Bhakti is devotion directed towards a personal god. Dr. Söderblom proceeds to deal with the union of Bhakti with Buddhism, in the doctrine of Mahayana, and shows how Buddhism, in spite of its early atheism, found an object of worship in the historic personality of its founder; how, too,

instead of the individual's path to Nirvana, the ideal became that of following the example of the Buddha, to undertake all suffering, so that those who suffer may be saved, and pity becomes the chief of all virtues. "When faith in God and care for one's fellow-men have gained such place and power in religion, the reign of self-salvation is at an end."

In Zarathushtra, the preacher of a doctrine in which religion is regarded as a fight against evil, Dr. Söderblom finds a great significance for the history of religion, as being perhaps the only real counterpart of the Old Testament prophets and their less original successor, Muḥammad. With the name of Zarathushtra is bound up a spiritual, moral, and social regeneration, which was the result of a Divine commission, and the underlying cause of his zeal was his consciousness that he had met and communed with God Himself. But to his teaching of trust in, and worship of, the All-Wise Lord, he adds the doctrine of dualism in existence, and its extension beyond the limits of earthly life and present history. He seems to be the first to teach clearly the doctrine of a double retribution after death, on moral grounds, the first to create a doctrine of the fulfilment of history.

Not the least interesting section of this book is that on Socrates, the representative of the "religion of good conscience". Here it is shown plainly that the basic element of Socrates' life and work was not examination and criticism, but a firm and unswerving faith; his actions were the result of a mystical experience, which carried with it an inward compulsion. His Daimonion helped him to this faith, for it was to him the "sign of God". There follows a comparison between Socratic Trust and Platonic Mysticism, which is of great interest, and Dr. Söderblom's conclusion is that while Plato, and Aristotle too, had a profound influence on Christian theology and the religion of the West, yet neither of them directly reveals a Divine reality, as did Socrates.

Next, Dr. Söderblom turns to Mosaism as a religion of revelation in history, and points the contrast between it and

the religions of India. Though in both there is to be found a belief in the unity, the spirituality, and the sufficiency of God, in Mosaism we find the new elements of exclusiveness and intolerance, and a new emphasis on the activity of God. Now history is brought into the sphere of religion, all is dramatic, living, tangible; above all, this is a founded religion, starting from a Personality to Whom it never ceases to refer. The characteristics of Old Testament religion are intensified and carried to completion in the Gospel and the Christian Church, preaching the religion of incarnation. The Old Testament proclaimed a general relation of God, the New Testament proclaims a special, unique revelation of God in Christ, Who claimed to be, not one in a pantheon, but the complete and perfect revelation of the One Almighty God. In His life and teaching, above all in His Redemptive Death, we see the essentially unique character in Christianity, for it is not the work of man seeking God, but the work of God seeking man. It is to this unique faith that the author, having examined the claims of so many other faiths, gives his own personal adherence.

853. MARGARET SMITH.

LANGUES ET ÉCRITURES SÉMITIQUES. By LE P. P. DHORME. Études Sémitiques: 1. 10 × 6¼, pp. 73. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1930. Frs. 25.

Since the late Professor Noeldeke published his famous standard essay, *Die Semitischen Sprachen*, nothing of a similar kind has been attempted.

This book, which first appeared as an article in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, is now difficult to obtain. Dr. Dhorme's work enlarges its scope by including Accadian, which is only called Semitic in a broader sense. Strictly speaking, Semitic writing begins with the Phœnician inscriptions.

Another edition of Noeldeke's work has never appeared, nor have his researches been followed up, in spite of the new

material available. An attempt in this direction has now been made by the author of the above-mentioned book. He goes carefully through the various Semitic dialects, but the expression "Speech of Canaan" lacks precision. In general it means Phœnician, and one must agree with the author that alphabetical writing starts with that nation. No attempts to derive the alphabet from other sources are well authenticated. There was scarcely any uniformity in the languages spoken in Canaan, as we gather from the differences of dialect even between Hebrew and Phœnician. There occurs a sufficient number of words in Phœnician inscriptions which still remain unexplained, and as far as vocalization is concerned the situation is practically hopeless. What, e.g., is אשתבטא in the inscription of Marseille? Or who can say with certainty how the first word in the Hebrew Siloam inscription is to be read? Hebrew offers enough puzzles, and many difficulties have been added through the tight fetters of the Māsōrāh. Hebrew is a much older language than documents of any kind reveal, as is proved by the tablets of Tel Amarna. There occur in the KLMU stone, words and construction of pure Hebrew character.

Although Dr. Dhorme does not carry all his statements to final results, the work is a scholarly and useful survey of the material in hand. On one point the author deserves full consent when he maintains that it was the Phoenicians who are responsible for the invention and development of alphabetical writing, and this should be upheld against all assertions that either Babylon or Egypt taught the world to employ consonants detached from a concomitant vowel. A chapter on the characteristic features of the Semitic languages concludes the book. The sections are short, but clear. The style is attractive and stimulates the further study of details.

Altogether, Dr. Dhorme's essay is both interesting and instructive, and the author is entitled to the best thanks of all students of Semitics.

197.

H. HIRSCHFELD.

THE ITALIAN EXPEDITION TO THE HIMALAYA, KARAKORAM, AND EASTERN TURKESTAN (1913–14). By FILIPPO DE FILIPPI. With chapters by G. DAINELLI and J. A. SPRANGER. 9¾ × 7¼, pp. xvi + 528, pls. col. 2, maps col. 4, panoramas 15, illus. 300. London: Edward Arnold & Co., 1932. 50s.

In this splendidly illustrated volume, translated from the Italian original which was published in 1923, Dr. Filippo De Filippi has given a comprehensive and delightfully readable account of the great scientific expedition which in 1913–14 he led from Kashmir through Baltistān and Ladāk to the Karakoram range and the adjacent portion of Chinese Turkestān. No single trans-continental expedition is likely to have ever been carried out with so wide and so carefully prepared a programme of scientific research into manifold aspects of the physical and human geography of a region presenting equally great difficulties of nature. A grand series of detailed reports in thirteen quarto volumes bears testimony to the extent and value of the results achieved. They deal with the geology, geophysics, topography, anthropology, etc., of what in many respects is perhaps the most interesting portion of the great mountain barrier separating India from Central Asia and Tibet.

Such varied and thorough results could be secured only by the devoted efforts of not less than eleven European fellow-workers, nine among them Italian and two British, and with the willing support given by both the Italian and Indian Governments. But it needed Dr. De Filippi's often proved powers of systematic organization and leadership to assure for this great staff of scientists the fullest measure of opportunities to gather their abundant harvest within the available limits of time. The accounts published by him of the Duke of the Abruzzi's successive expeditions, in which he had taken a prominent share, to Mount Elias, Ruwenzori, and the great glaciers girding K_2 or Mount Godwin Austin on the Karakoram have made geographical students before familiar

with Dr. De Filippi's exceptional qualities as an explorer. In him organizing capacity is combined with rare keenness of observation for things physical and human as well as with the gift of clear and graphic description.

It was fit that this record of a memorable scientific enterprise should be made accessible also in English. Its successful achievement was greatly facilitated by the ready help of the Indian Government and its Survey Department, then under the direction of Sir Sidney Burrard. Its scene lay in a fascinating mountain region presenting manifold interest to the student of the geography, ethnology, and history of India's northernmost borders.

The chapters devoted by Dr. De Filippi to those portions of the expedition's work which concerned Baltistān and Ladāk, and to the relations, past and present, linking these mountain territories with Kashmir, Tibet, and the Tārīm basin, bring out clearly the special attraction presented to him by the study of their people, their conditions of life, and their history. It seems hence appropriate that in the brief notice desired by the Editor of this JOURNAL particular attention should be drawn to the mass of carefully gathered observations bearing on the racial characteristics, customs, traditions, and general cultural conditions of Baltistān and Ladāk. These observations strikingly illustrate the differences which Islām on the one side and Tibetan Buddhism on the other have introduced between populations separated neither by great geographical barriers nor by very marked diversity of language, race, or natural surroundings. These observations are usefully supplemented by the information which two chapters contributed by Professor Dainelli on his separate tours record about small communities of Dard origin scattered in valleys off the main route between Skardo and Leh.

The long series of gravimetric, magnetic, and meteorological and other geophysical observations necessitated protracted stays of the main body of the expedition at Skardo and Leh before the difficult exploratory tasks on the high

barren plateaux of the Karakoram were undertaken in the summer of 1914. The arrangements for "supplies and transport" needed to maintain so large an expedition, encumbered by elaborate and heavy scientific equipment, for months at a stretch on elevated ground utterly devoid of resources might well by themselves have sufficed to absorb the leader's energy and attention. All the same Dr. De Filippi managed to find time during those stays for a careful study of varied aspects of local life, customs, religious organization, architecture, etc.

To this we owe *inter alia* the detailed description contained in chapter vi of the monastic institutions of Ladāk, their structures, art, etc. Illustrated by a wealth of excellent photographs, which the skill of Colonel Antilli provided as for the rest of the book, this chapter helps the general reader perhaps better than any previous book of travel to realize the remarkable wealth of products of local industry, art, and craft to be found in that comparatively small portion of Western Tibet. Considering the very limited extent of arable ground, the adversity of climatic conditions at those great altitudes, and the very scanty population—the Census of 1911 gave for Ladāk and adjacent tracts only some 36,511 Buddhists—the abundance of monasteries, shrines, religious monuments, and other structures, whether maintained or in ruins, must impress every visitor. By contrast with the Dard and Baltī tracts, which also were once Buddhist, this wealth conveys a very instructive lesson to the antiquarian student as to the way in which peculiar cultural factors may affect the extent of structural and other remains of the past in neighbouring territories.

A distinctive and very useful feature of the book is the diligent, one might almost say loving, care which Dr. De Filippi has bestowed upon notices of previous travellers' visits to those regions and of the records left of their observations and labours. All students interested in the geography and history of that fascinating borderland between India and Central Asia must feel grateful for this

care. It is characteristic of the thoroughness of the explorer and scholar who has quite recently given us an admirably documented edition of his countryman, P. Ippolito Desideri's important account of Tibet, including Leh, as he saw it in 1712–17.

None of the earlier European travellers whose records have come down to us seems to have escaped Dr. De Filippi's attention. But in connection with that ill-fated and often inadequately judged explorer Moorcroft mention might have been made of Csoma de Körös. This devoted Hungarian scholar in 1820 came to Leh with Moorcroft and was there led by him to take up the labours which, after years of great hardships spent in a Zanskar monastery, made him the true pioneer of modern Tibetan studies. As regards Baltistān a reference might perhaps have been made to a brief but interesting notice in the *Letter from Kashmir*[1] of that most observant of early French travellers to India, Dr. François Bernier. It tells us how the Emperor Aurangzeb's short-lived invasion of Ladāk led to the closing of the Karakoram–Leh route and for a time diverted trade from Eastern Turkestān to the still more difficult route leading over the glacier pass of Muztāgh to Baltistān.

This cannot be the place to attempt an appreciation of the remarkable achievements described in the latter half of the book. It deals with the very arduous and scientifically very fruitful explorations in which all members of the expedition were engaged from a base established at 17,600 feet above sea-level on the Depsang plateau to the south of the Karakoram Pass. These finally determined the sources of the Yārkand and Shāyok rivers issuing from the huge Rimu glaciers; located for the first time the head of the former river's chief tributary in the Shaksgam valley and led to other notable discoveries. Magnificent photographic panoramas taken by Colonel Antilli, a worthy successor of that great artist Signor Sella, illustrate those explorations. Reproduced

[1] *Travels in the Mogul Empire*, A.D. 1656–68. *The Ninth Letter to the Same. Written in Kachemire.* By François Bernier.

and printed in Italy these plates have fortunately escaped the less effective treatment which many of the half-tone illustrations in the text as printed in the English edition have suffered.

In the account of these trying explorations, continued for fully three months and closing with the descent down the Raskam Daryā to Yārkand, the observant reader will be impressed as throughout the book with the self-effacing modesty displayed by the leader in his record. It has its worthy counterpart in the generous tribute paid throughout to the efforts of all those who shared the toils of the expedition, including Indian surveyors, Ghulām Rasūl Galwān, the best of "Caravan-bashis", and ever cheerful Ladākī porters. None of the Italian scientists had ever set foot before in Asia, and this must have made them particularly grateful for such leading and for such experienced care about their well-being.

Inadequate as this notice for various reasons must be, it may suffice to show that Italy has reason to feel proud of the work of her scientists as recorded by Dr. De Filippi's pen. To British readers of the book it is gratifying to think that India through its Survey Department was enabled to contribute to the elucidation of important geographical problems concerning the northernmost borderland. Equally pleased they must be to note the excellence of the translation by which Mrs. Low-Porter has done justice to the clear and vivid style of the original text.

598. AUREL STEIN.

CHRISTIAN DOCUMENTS IN SYRIAC, ARABIC AND GARSHUNI. Edited and translated with a critical apparatus, by A. MINGANA. Woodbrooke Studies, vol. vi, Commentary of Theodore of Mopsuestia on the Lord's Prayer and on the Sacraments of Baptism and the Eucharist. $10 \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, pp. xxv + 265. Cambridge: W. Heffer & Sons, Ltd., 1933. 21*s*. net.

In this volume Dr. Mingana gives us the second part of

the Syriac version of the work by Theodore of Mopsuestia, *Liber ad Baptizandos* (according to a Latin title), of which the first part (on the Nicene Creed) appeared in volume v of the Woodbrooke Studies. The headings of the work in the MS. (Mingana Syriac 561) give this part of it as a separate treatise, but the copyist, who was presumably the author of the headings, places it in an unbroken sequence with the text of the Commentary on the Nicene Creed. At the same time, readers of the Syriac text will agree with Dr. Mingana that the translator cannot have been one and the same person. This is clear on linguistic grounds, and it may be that, as Dr. Mingana suggests, the translator of the second part lived some years later than the translator of the first part.

The work now published is far more interesting and, in our opinion, much more important than the Commentary on the Nicene Creed. In particular, the sections on Baptism and the Eucharist may be said to be of quite outstanding value for the history and interpretation of these two sacraments. Since the Eucharist is treated in relation to the Liturgy, the work is valuable also for liturgical purposes. Indeed, it may be stated confidently that no student of Christian institutions can afford to ignore volume vi of the Woodbrooke Studies. It should find a place in every academic library.

The Syriac text is again difficult, and few translators could have handled it as successfully as Dr. Mingana. This is not to say that it will not sometimes be felt to be open to criticism. Dr. Mingana is rather fond of using terms, sometimes theological, which are best avoided. For instance, the Syriac text follows the practice, common in the Peshitta, of often using "life" instead of "salvation"; or it uses the term "life" in addition to the term "salvation".[1] On p. 4 (Syriac, p. 128), however, we find "for our Life and our salvation" translated "for our salvation and deliverance". On p. 27 (S., p. 156) "our Life and salvation" is translated "our

[1] "Life" is *ḥayyē*. The word for salvation is *purḳānā*.

deliverance and salvation". On p. 81 (S., p. 218), we have "salvation and deliverance" for "salvation and Life". On p. 85 (S., p. 222) "saved us and delivered us", for "saved us and gave us Life". On p. 86 (S., p. 222) "our deliverance and our salvation" for "our Life and our salvation". On p. 89 (S., p. 226), "the salvation and the deliverance of men" for "the salvation and Life of men". On p. 118 (S., p. 259), "a deliverance and a salvation" for "Life and salvation". The avoidance of the word "Life" is unfortunate, for the frequent use of the word here seems to show that the Syriac text is inclined to follow Aramaic rather than Greek usage. Syriac, on the whole, prefers "Life" to "salvation", "life-giving" to "saving", and "Giver of Life" to "Saviour".[1] Why, then, to give other examples, translate "an awe-inspiring salvation" (S., p. 189; E.T., p. 56) instead of "awe-inspiring Life"; "the vivifying Spirit" (S., p. 211; E.T., p. 76) instead of "the life-giving Spirit"; "salvation-giving Passion" (S., p. 223; E.T. p. 86) instead of "life-giving Passion"; "vivifying bread" (S., p. 246; E.T., p. 106) instead of "life-giving bread"? On p. 57 (S., p. 190) "life from the dead" is translated "resurrection from the dead".

The author of the Syriac text reproduced in volume v of the Woodbrooke Studies, in quotations from the New Testament seems always to follow the Greek. In the text reproduced in volume vi there is an interesting quotation which seems to show that the writer here was familiar with the Peshitta. Dr. Mingana translates (E.T., p. 122; S., p. 264) "with such an one no not to eat". This is the translation of R.V., following the Greek. But the Syriac text here actually has "with such an one one should not eat *bread*"; and this is the reading of the Peshitta, and also of the Vulgate.[2]

[1] The more usual expression for Giver of Life is *maḥyānā*, lit. "he who causes to live", but *yāhēb ḥayye* is found also. The latter expression occurs in fact in the Syriac text before us (p. 212): "While he might have said, It is I who give Life" (so Mingana, p. 76; but we might translate, "It is I who am the Giver of Life").

[2] 1 Corinthians v, 11. These readings are not mentioned by A. Plummer in his Commentary on *I Corinthians* in ICC.

Occasionally words have slipped out in the translation. On p. 94 (S., p. 231) the words, "the one who has been sinned against must accept the reconciliation of the one who had sinned against him," require the addition: (must accept) *without delay*. On p. 100 (S., p. 239) the words, "since they were looking downwards and covering their faces completely with their wings," require the addition: (and covering) *their feet and* (their faces).

As in the other text (vol. v), the expression *dehlath 'ālāhā* is translated "religion" (S., p. 124, E.T., p. 1; S., p. 152, E.T., p. 24; S. p. 169, E.T., p. 40; S., p. 172, E.T., p. 42; S., p. 264, E.T., p. 122). A better translation would surely be "the (true) worship of God". Another expression in the Syriac presents difficulty. ܕܝܬܩܐ ܚܕܬܐ can mean either "New Testament" or "new covenant". Dr. Mingana translates New Testament where, in our opinion, "new covenant" would be better. On p. 70 (S., p. 204) we read: "We must first of all realize that we perform a sacrifice of which we eat, and that it is the office of the priest of the New Testament to offer this sacrifice, as it is through it (*or* him) that the New Covenant appears to be maintained" (cf. p. 79, S., p. 214). It should be, we submit, first "New Covenant" instead of New Testament, and then "new covenant" (*without* capitals) instead of "New Covenant". On p. 82 (S., p. 218) and p. 83 (S., p. 219) again we read of "the priests of the New Testament"![1]

On the whole the text is well printed, but occasionally there are defects or misprints. e.g.:—

p. 88: *For* "run" *read* "ran".
p. 152, l. 3 from end: Fifth word defective.
p. 182, last word: *Read* ܠܗ.
p. 210, l. 4 from end: *Read* ܒ ܡܫܠܡܢܝ.
p. 214, l. 14: ܡܫܚܬܐ defectively printed.

[1] On p. 77 (S., p. 213) ܕܝܬܩܐ ܥܬܝܩܬܐ is translated "Old Testament". Should it not be "Old Covenant"?

p. 215, l. 6, last word; and p. 227, l. 5 from end: *For* ܟ *read* ܠ.
p. 222, l. 1, last word: *For* ܐܡܟܡ *read* ܐܡܠܡ.
p. 256, l. 6, end: *For* ܡܨܟܝܢ *read* ܡܨܠܝܢ.

846. MAURICE A. CANNEY.

KĀVYĀLAṄKĀRA-SĀRA-SAMGRAHA OF UDBHAṬA WITH THE VIVṚTI, critically edited with introduction and indices by K. S. RAMASWAMI SASTRI SIROMANI. Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. LV. $9\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, pp. xlviii + 62. Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1931. Rs. 2.

The text of Udbhaṭa's *Kāvyālaṅkāra-sāra-saṃgraha*, accompanied by its illustrative verses, was first edited tentatively by Jacob in *JRAS.*, 1897, but it was subsequently published with the *Laghuvṛtti* of Pratīhārendurāja by the Nirnay Sagar Press, Bombay, in 1915. The imperfections of both these editions were remedied by a more elaborate edition of the work prepared by N. D. Banhatti in the Bombay Sanskrit and Prakrit Series in 1925. This publication contained the same commentary, but it was based on better manuscript material and was furnished with an introduction, elaborate notes, and all the necessary critical apparatus. The interest of the present edition published by the Gaekwad's Series, however, is the publication of a new anonymous commentary, entitled *Vivṛti*, a copy of which, discovered in Malabar in 1919–1920, exists in the Government Oriental Manuscript Library, Madras. Attention was drawn to this commentary in 1925 by the present reviewer in *BSOS.*, iv, p. 279, as well as by Banhatti about the same time. It is a matter of congratulation that the work is now made available to students of Sanskrit Poetics in this well-known Series; and so far as a work can be edited from a single manuscript, which in itself is far from being a perfect specimen, the work has been very well edited.

The commentary is anonymous, but that it is fairly late

is evidenced not only by its matter, but also by its citation of a verse from Rājaśekhara's *Viddhaśālabhañjikā*, as well as by its obvious appropriation of Mammaṭa's standard work. Jayaratha, commenting on Ruyyaka's (or Rucaka's) *Alaṅkāra-sarvasva*, refers in more than one place to an *Udbhaṭa-viveka* or *Udbhaṭa-vicāra* by Rājānaka Tilaka, and states that Ruyyaka generally followed the views propounded by Tilaka. We know that a Rājānaka Tilaka was Ruyyaka's father. The question naturally arises whether the present *Vivṛti* is identical with the *Viveka* or *Vicāra* cited by Jayaratha. Banhatti is rather cautious in his discussion of the question, but he appears to be inclined to the view that the *Vivṛti* is "evidently a distinct work from *Udbhaṭa-viveka* or *vicāra* by Rājānaka Tilaka mentioned by Jayaratha". Our editor, however, declines to accept this opinion, and makes an elaborate attempt to demonstrate that the *Vivṛti* cannot but be taken as the lost *Viveka* or *Vicāra* of Tilaka. The evidence adduced is plausible indeed, but does not appear to be conclusive, and in the absence of more definite data it would be better to leave the question open.

The new commentary is interesting from many points of view, and these have been detailed by the editor in his able and fairly exhaustive Sanskrit introduction; but its value as an exegetical work need not be placed too high. It is, however, worth publishing because of the light it throws on certain phases of the development of the views of the Alaṅkāra school of Sanskrit Poetics.

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S. K. De.

Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine. 11 × 8. Jerusalem: Published for the Government of Palestine by Oxford University Press, London. Each part, 5s.

Vol. i, No. 3, pp. 49, pls. 19, figs. 29. 1931.

There is little of human interest in this issue of the *Palestine Quarterly* except perhaps the Greek mosiac dedication panel

from the floor of the Byzantine Church at Mukhmâs, the Michmash of the Old Testament, which in a prayer for remembrance carries down the name of Valentinus and the fact of the existence of his wife and children.

The continuation of the article on little known or unpublished local varieties of coins in the Palestine Museum (9 pp. and 3 pls.) contains details of thirty-three bronze coins from Ascalon, Eleutheropolis, Gaza, Raphia, Cæsarea (Samaria), Diospolis-Lydda, Ptolemais-Ace, Nysa-Scythopolis, Sebaste, Dora, Bostra, Damascus, Gadara, and Philadelphia, covering the period as far as datable, from 56–55 B.C. to A.D. 260 and preserving on the obverse heads of Heracles (?), Poseidon (?), Augustus, Nero, Marcus Aurelius, Macrinus, Severus Alexander, Geta, Caracalla, Commodus, Septimius Severus, Valerian, Gordian III, Julia Domma, the Elder and Younger Philip, and Oticilia Severa, the wife of the former and mother of the latter, whom the opinion of the ancients, the definite assertion of the Alexandrian Chronicle, and the imputation of Eusebius indicate as having been a Christian.

This issue also contains a further instalment of the Select Bibliography of Excavations in Palestine commenced in No. 2, and a brief account of a tomb chamber in the Syrian Orphanage, Jerusalem. The chief finds here were two gold ear-rings, the one similar to those found at Karm al-Shaikh, Jerusalem (vol. i, No. 1), which from similar ear-rings found in Egypt is dated in the second century A.D., and the other with pearls and a gem apparently of a very rare type (see pl. 38, fig. 2).

The longest article (19 pp., 14 pls., and 29 figs.) discusses the excavations at 'Atlit (*Pilgrims' Castle*).

This castle stands on a rock peninsula, fortified at the neck, whence beaches run east and south.

The site was primarily a *point d'appui*, a stage on the road to Jerusalem, and possibly a port of entry whence the Templars escorted the pilgrims inland.

Early in the thirteenth century 'Atlit was the Crusaders'

only permanent foothold between Cayphas (Haifa) and Cæsarea, and was built in order to check enemy forays from Mount Tabor; it was the first-fruits of the Austro-Hungarian crusade of 1218.

When this crusade spent itself at Damietta, 'Atlit passed to the Templars, under whom it became one of the finest Latin castles in the East, defied Frederick II's crusade in 1229, and only fell when Acre did in 1291.

The remaining buildings are described in detail with full plans and elevations. It is interesting to note that in the building of it caves and ancient tombs were utilized. The rooms contain rock-cut cupboards and inside one of the rooms a stone sleeping bench came to light. Other finds were stables with stone mangers and baths (probably Mamlūk).

The castle was in Mamlūk hands in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and subsequently with the town wall became a quarry for the early nineteenth century pashas of Acre.

The final article in this issue is a continuation of the account of the excavations of ancient street levels in the Tyropœon Valley, Jerusalem, commenced in No. 2 (*JRAS.*, January, 1933, p. 174).

Two further shafts have now been sunk, one 20 metres south of that mentioned in the previous article. This digging has resulted in the discovery of two street levels, the upper one probably early Byzantine and the lower probably Herodian. The general lay-out of these pavements and accompanying sewers is described fully and illustrated with plans, and the connection between them as revealed by the other shafts and the construction of the channels discussed.

It is possible that we have here the remains of a main thoroughfare bordered with raised colonnades. Various figures in outline illustrate the types of pottery found below the second pavement, a hard red ware finely ribbed and a pink ware with cream external slip being the most common.

Only two of the coins found, both bronze, are identifiable, the first of the second year of the first Jewish Revolt, A.D. 67–8, and the other of Antiochus VII, 138–129 B.C. (Jerusalem mint).

Vol. i, No. 4, pp. 49, pls. 4. 1932

The greater part of this issue is taken up with a special section of the Concise Bibliography of Excavations in Palestine devoted to Jerusalem. There is also a map of Jerusalem based on the Survey of Palestine map of August, 1925 (scale 1 : 10,000), to illustrate the special Jerusalem bibliography.

A bibliography is given for excavations during 1931 as well as short notices of work at Irq el Ahmar Rock-shelter, Khirbat et Tubeiqa (Beth-zur), Ramát Rahél, Wādī el Maghāra, and Megiddo.

The work at the Irq el Ahmar Rock-shelter in the Wādī Khureitūn revealed six levels of deposits (A to F):

(*A*) E. and M. Bronze Age remains, (*B*) Microlithic remains corresponding to the Lower Natufian of the Maghārat el Wād, (*C*) Lower Natufian and Aurignacian remains, (*D*) Lower Middle Aurignacian remains, (*E*) Lower Middle Aurignacian remains, and (*F*) a few atypical blades and flakes. Animal remains were found in (*B*) to (*F*), and human remains in (*F*).

The excavations at Khirbat et Tubeiqa were confined to the top of the hill, except for tracing 150 metres of city wall. The walls centred round a Hellenistic fortress of three different periods (which showed evidence of having been once burnt), surrounded by a complex of stores and houses, with a street and an open place before the east gate, and in the market were what appeared to be a *khan* and wine-shop. Two cisterns and a reservoir were completely cleared, the latter a natural cave approached from the north by steps descending in a curved staircase with a rock-cut balustrade. Of the M. Bronze Age was an example of early Canaanitish art, a bone carving of a standing man with the right arm raised in a

ceremonial attitude, and of E. Iron II the wax impression of a seal inscribed "Of Gealyahu, the son of the king".

The city flourished after the Exile, and reached its zenith under Antiochus IV Epiphanes (175–164 B.C.), but as a result of its capture by Simon the Maccabee (144–135 B.C.) was abandoned by 100 B.C.

The excavations at Ramát Rahél, between Talpiyot and Giv'at Eliyáhu (Khirbat Sālih), resulted in the discovery of a rock-hewn tomb-cave, consisting of a courtyard with a large niche on the north, an ossuary chamber to the east, and a bone chamber on the south. Three of the ossuaries found there were decorated with rosettes; one had a gable lid and another a wall represented on its sides. Among the finds was a meleki-stone capital with Cypro-Phœnician ornamentation.

The excavations in the caves of the Wādī el Maghara were carried on at three sites: the Cave of the Valley, the Cave of the Kids, and the Cave of the Oven. The work in Cave 1 resulted in the identification of two phases of the Mesolithic industry of Palestine, the Upper and Lower Natufian, whilst Cave 2 yielded a single archæological deposit of the Mousterian Age, with the skeleton of a young child towards the base, and Cave 3, containing a very deep deposit, Mousterian remains identical with 2, associated with a well-preserved fauna.

Mr. P. L. O. Guy's excavations at Megiddó uncovered a water supply system. In the Bronze Age a cave was hacked out, access to it from the town above being perhaps obtained by a masonry passage, apparently of L. Bronze Age. During the tenth century B.C. a vertical shaft and horizontal tunnel were seemingly added when the town was rebuilt and a water supply was necessary within the new fortifications. This being done, the older entrance was blocked. At the bottom of the system was a water-pool from which steps led upwards to an opening at the foot of the tell, inside which was a recess for the guard, whose skeleton and bronze mace-head were here discovered. The latest ruin discovered here dates from about 350 B.C.

One interesting find was an intact vase (33 cm. high) with a remarkable design of goats, palm tree, birds, and a crab, as well as geometrical patterns.

Three short articles complete the issue, one on mosaic pavements at 'Ein el Fawwār in the Wādī Fāra, the second on an inscribed epitaph from Gaza, and the third on a rock-crystal portrait of Vitellius.

The epitaph from Gaza (2 ft. 9 in. high by 1 ft. 9 in. wide), which dates from the third century A.D., records a certain Charmadas and the early loss of those dear to him.

The portrait of Vitellius in rock-crystal, 1⅝ inches high, has features which hardly bear out the description of Suetonius, although they are those of a weak character. These rock-crystal heads were, as far as is known, confined to imperial portraits, and this particular one must, therefore, date from the last year of Vitellius' life.

Vol. ii, No. 1, pp. 40, pls. 12. 1932.

This issue of the *Palestine Quarterly* contains articles on coins found in Palestine, two third century portrait busts, pre-Hellenistic Greek pottery in Palestine, two inscriptions of Baybars, and a further instalment of the excavation of street levels in the Tyropœon Valley, Jerusalem.

The majority of the coins are thought to have formed part of a single hoard. They were covered with a thin even hard black patina, and needed very little cleaning. They date from the fifth century B.C. to the time of Alexander the Great, and fall into seven main groups: (1) Alexander the Great, (2) Athenian, (3) combinations of Athenian and other types, (4) Sidonian, (5) Tyrian, (6) Egypto-Arabian, Philisto-Arabian, etc., and (7) uncertain.

Certain of group (6) are in mint condition and are, therefore, probably the latest in date, especially a small group showing lions and other animals, possibly struck in Palestine or Egypt, but with some Cypriote or early Thracian and Macedonian characteristics.

Some with bearded male heads in better style than most of the coins of this type in the Philisto-Arabian class are reminiscent of Cypriote sculpture.

The coins in group (2) are presumably later local copies of Athenian originals of, say, 400–375 B.C. One of these bears an inscription which, it is suggested, may refer to Mentor the Rhodian, the mercenary general first of Nectanebo II and later of Artaxerxes III.

The coins in Group (4) from Sidon are somewhat clumsily executed, and bear on the obverse the square or rounded stern of a galley, and on the reverse the Great King standing and grasping the head of an erect lion in the well-known Persepolitan style, or running or kneeling with bow, spear, or dagger.

The nations pre-eminent in antiquity for portrait sculpture were the Egyptians and, through the Etruscans, the Romans. It is, however, doubtful whether, despite the first or second dynasty ivory statuette of a king from Abydos, the Tell-el-Amarna portraits, or the work of the fourth, twelfth, and twenty-sixth dynasties, any Egyptian work excels the Roman portrait busts of the Republican period in the Boston and Copenhagen Museums, especially the terra-cotta in the former.

Two third-century busts in the Palestine Museum, possibly from Ascalon, are dealt with in this issue. One, of a matronly and masterful character, an imperial lady of the famous Syrian group which included Julia Domna and Otacilia Severa, is possibly identifiable as Cornelia Salonina, the wife of Gallienus (d. 268).

By the time of Diocletian this Eastern style (frontality and flatness of technique) had conquered even at Rome. Of the second portrait, also from Ascalon, neck, bust, and nose are missing. The technique and style are similar to those of the bust of Salonina, but with very different features. The original of this second bust may be Otacilia Severa.

The article on pre-Hellenistic Greek pottery in Palestine from fragments in the Palestine Museum aims at furnishing

preliminary evidence for the importation of Greek pottery into Palestine before the conquests of Alexander in contradiction of the hitherto popular view. It is, in fact, maintained that the seventh to fourth century exporters, whose activities embraced the areas from South Russia to Spain and from the Alps to Egypt, did not for some obscure reason exclude Palestine.

Noteworthy are late fifth century Black Figure cups with the legend of Oedipus and the Sphinx on them from Tell Jemmeh, near Gaza, of the Boeotian Kabeiric class or one closely related to it. The presence of a sphinx on a Red Figure lekythos of the same date and provenance raises the question of a possible connection between Boeotia and South Palestine during the Theban hegemony.

Of the two inscriptions of the one-eyed Kipchak slave Baybars (1260–1277), whom Lane-Poole in his *Egypt in the Middle Ages* describes as the real founder of the Mamlūk Empire, one is the founder's text on a marble slab dated A.H. 668 in a funerary shrine south of Jericho, known locally as Maqām an-Nabī Mūsā, and the other an inscription in three fragments found near a well in the village of Damra, near Gaza, now in the Palestine Archæological Museum (Nos. I, 8727–8).

The shrine containing Inscription No. 1 has not apparently been noticed in existing European literature on the district. It records the ordering of the construction of the shrine over the "tomb of Moses, who spoke with God", by the Sultan after his return from Jerusalem.

The Tomb of Moses below the Turris Rubea of the Crusaders was but vaguely known even to Arab writers, and the correct site is first mentioned by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa. Baybars' building over it was not mentioned until the time of al-Kutubi (d. A.H. 764).

The second inscription is incomplete, but has been restored as giving the titles of Baybars, including, like Inscription I, that of "Associate of the Commander of the Faithful",

referring to his institution of the second or Egyptian 'Abbāsid Khalifate.

A further description of the excavations carried out in 1931 in the course of the construction of a new sewer deals with the arch of the great Tyropœon viaduct beneath which ran the sewer and ancient street which formed the subject of the previous two articles.

776. E. B. W. CHAPPELOW.

MONGOLSKOE PRAVO, PREIMUSHCHESTVENNO OBYCHNOE (THE MONGOLIAN LAW, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE CUSTOMARY LAW). By V. A. RIASANOVSKY. $10\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{3}{4}$, pp. 306 + 42 + ii. Harbin: N. E. Chinarev, 1931.

This work is in Russian, but is accompanied by a brief summary of its contents in English covering about three pages; it is divided into three parts, Mongol law proper, Buriat law, and Kalmuk law, and includes a good deal of new material derived from manuscript law codes in Mongol not yet published.

The author discusses the history of Mongol law, the extent to which it was influenced by and influenced Chinese and Russian law and its salient characteristics, and gives his reasons for concluding that fundamentally all the codes discussed are a true native product of the nomadic civilization of Mongolia.

The book is a pioneering work opening up new ground of considerable interest and deserves a hearty welcome; the English summary, however, is somewhat too scanty to enable scholars who cannot read Russian to derive very much benefit from it.

G. L. M. CLAUSON.

631.

Indochine, Indonesia, etc.

By C. O. Blagden

1. Le Temple d'Angkor Vat. Troisième Partie. La Galerie des Bas-reliefs. 14¼ × 11. (I) pp. 13, pls. 64, plans 4; (II) pp. 6, pls. 146, plans 5; (III) pp. 8, pls. 112, plans 3. Paris: G. van Oest, 1932.

These three volumes constitute the third part of *Mémoires archéologiques publiés par l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient*, tome ii, under the above title, which sufficiently indicates the subject of the whole. This part is devoted to the illustration of the bas-reliefs of the great temple, all of which (except a few as yet unidentified) point to the Vaiṣṇava sources that inspired their sculptors. For the most part they represent incidents from the legends of Viṣṇu, Kṛṣṇa, and Rāma; but a considerable portion of the third volume is taken up with representations of the founder of the temple, King Śrī Paramaviṣṇuloka, and his court, and it ends with pictures of the Hindu heavens and hells. In a brief introduction to the first volume, M. George Coedès explains these matters in outline, the more detailed discussion being reserved for a subsequent volume. The plates leave nothing to be desired, and the plans serve to locate the position of the several sections of the sculptures on the walls of the building.

661.

2. Bibliographie de l'Indochine Française, 1927–1929. Par Paul Boudet et Remi Bourgeois. 11 × 7¾, pp. vii + 240. Hanoi: Imprimerie d'Extrême-Orient, 1932. $7.

This is a continuation of a bibliography covering 1913–1926, which appeared in 1929 and served as a supplement to the well-known *Bibliotheca Indosinica* of the late Henri Cordier. As stated in the introduction, the arrangement of the present volume has been slightly modified in a manner which, it is hoped, will facilitate research; and it is intended that in

future the issue shall be annual. The work falls into two parts, the first being arranged alphabetically under classified subject headings, which are very numerous, the second under the names of authors. It is published by the École Française d'Extrême-Orient in the excellent style which we are accustomed to expect from that institution.
751.

3. Megalithic Remains in South Sumatra. By Dr. A. N. J. Th. à Th. van der Hoop. Translated by William Shirlaw. $12\frac{1}{4} \times 9\frac{1}{2}$, pp. xii + 191, ills. 226, maps 17. Zutphen: W. J. Thieme & Cie., 1932.

This sumptuously illustrated work is mainly concerned with southern Sumatra, but a few monuments of the Bantam region (western Java) have also been included. The survey on which it is based was made in 1931, and took about six months, a large number of sites being visited. The objects described, and in many cases illustrated, comprise statues, stones with cup-shaped hollows, troughs, upright megaliths and symmetrical groups of such, dolmens, stone cists, terrace graves, and a variety of others. They are enumerated and described in the first four chapters; these are preceded by a brief preface and an introduction, which amongst other information gives some account of earlier prehistoric field-work in southern Sumatra. In chapters v to xiii the several items above indicated are discussed in succession; and chapter xiv deals with the orientation of the megaliths (which is also displayed synoptically in illustration 226). Chapter xv contains the author's general conclusions, after which comes an appendix on the chemical and mineralogical analysis of a few of the objects. An ample and very valuable bibliography, two indexes, and the illustrations and maps, preceded by a list of them, complete the volume.

The plates are very good. The statues, though crude and somewhat like the most recent efforts of a certain European school of sculpture, are really remarkable. It seems clear

that they are almost all of earlier date than the introduction of Hinduism into Sumatra. But they, and the other stone remains, seem to be of various periods. Some were apparently contemporary with the local bronze age, and the author gives reasons for dating them in the early centuries of the Christian era. In the final chapter there is a concise list of the various types of megalithic remains of neighbouring countries (such as other islands of the Indian Archipelago, the Malay Peninsula, Assam, and Burma). On the question of the relation of these to one another and to megalithic cultures in more distant parts of the world, he prudently takes up a non-committal attitude. After citing the views of several other authorities, he points out that, as the evidence is at present by no means complete, positive assertions would be premature, and the far-reaching speculations of some theorists are not based on sound foundations. He pleads, therefore, for a systematic survey of, at any rate, all the megalithic remains of the Indian Archipelago; and it is to be hoped that the proposal will be carried, for his monograph is a fine specimen of the results of such investigations.

749.

4. Die zeitgenössischen Quellen zur Geschichte Portugiesisch-Asiens und seiner Nachbarländer (Ostafrika, Abessinien, Arabien, Persien, Vorder- und Hinterindien, Malaiischer Archipel, Philippinen, China und Japan) zur Zeit des Franz Xaver (1538–1552). Von Georg Schurhammer S.J. $10\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{1}{4}$, pp. xlvii + 522, pls. 30. Leipzig: Verlag Asia Major G.m.b.H., 1932. RM. 53.

This catalogue refers mainly to manuscript sources, but a number of printed works and inscriptions are also listed in it. Although the title specifies the period 1538–1552, the first section (twenty pages) of the catalogue deals with a selection of documents from 1438 to 1537; and the last one (beginning at p. 443, not 433 as stated in the table of contents) has more

than thirty pages of entries running from 1553 to 1624, making the total number 6,236, instead of the 6,080 given on the title page. The notices are, of course, brief, but they serve to indicate the subject matter of the several documents and their importance as materials for history. The plates, which are good though rather small in scale, give a large number of specimens of handwriting in many different scripts and languages, largely Oriental. The catalogue itself is preceded by a preface, table of contents, bibliography, list of abbreviations, and an introduction. This latter deals with the history of Portuguese Asia and neighbouring countries (1538–1552), the various kinds of documents listed. and the archives where they are preserved. The work ends with a useful index of thirty-six pages and a few addenda and corrigenda.

The book is one that it is hardly possible to review in detail, but it is impressive by reason of the great mass of material examined and the amount of scholarly labour and skill that must have been expended in cataloguing it. One can safely say (and it is no small praise) that it is worthy of the reputation of the Society to which its learned author belongs.

608.

THE LAW OF THE AIR. (The Tagore Law Lectures of 1931.) By A. D. McNAIR. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. xvi + 250. London: Butterworth & Co., 1932.

Our English system of law has, in the course of its development, been influenced and moulded in no small degree by the progress of physical science. While new discoveries serve to bring the forces of nature under the further control of man and so place new resources and advantages at his disposal, they bring in their train new perils against which the law, in the interest of the common safety, must make it its business to provide protection.

Mechanical invention in the nineteenth century introduced

many complexities into the structure of industrial and commercial life, and acted as a powerful stimulus to the growth of our law, particularly in the domain of the law of Negligence. The risks attendant on the use of high-powered and elaborate machinery rendered it necessary for the law to prescribe a higher standard of the duty to take care and to enforce liability in a more stringent degree, and much of the legislation of that period was devoted to measures for the defence of life and property against the further dangers which were so brought into being. The law must keep step with the advances of science, and must continually re-adjust its bearings in order to cope with the practical needs of changing social conditions.

We are now called upon to take notice of fresh combinations of circumstances created by the development of the science of aerial navigation. Now that the air has become a medium of human activity it is clear that difficult problems are bound to emerge from the ever-increasing resort to aviation, both as a means of travel and a means of transport. How are the principles and rules of law, defined both by legislation and judicial decision, to be applied to the regulation of air-borne traffic ? In what sense, for example, are our present legal conceptions of ownership and possession to be interpreted as regards the air-space ? Is there to be a doctrine of freedom of the air as well as of freedom of the seas ? Or is the right to fly to be subjected to restrictions ? If so, in what manner is the right to be effectively restrained ? What practical measures of protection can be secured to those whose life or property is exposed to jeopardy from the air ?

These and other kindred problems constitute the subject-matter of the book here under review which embodies the Tagore Law Lectures for 1931, delivered to the University of Calcutta by Dr. McNair, of Cambridge. Much of what he has to say about these matters is, as he admits, of a speculative nature ; for up to the present time there has been little case-law and little legislation on the subject of aerial navigation.

The task of the author has to a large extent been that of forecasting the manner in which the common-law principles which deal with traffic on land and sea are likely to be applied by analogy to traffic in the air. The learned writer presents in a lucid and convincing manner the arguments by which he supports his conclusions, and, pending further legislation on the subject, it may safely be said that the views he expresses in this book are likely to hold the field.

One of the most interesting topics dealt with is that of Trespass. As Trespass is a wrong to possession, the question naturally arises how our existing law is to be connected with passage through the air. In what way can flight through the air-space amount to a disturbance of possession? In discussing this subject the author traces the history of the well-known maxim "*Cujus est solum, ejus est usque ad coelum et ad inferos*" so often cited as authority for the proposition that ownership of the superincumbent air-space is vested in the proprietor of the subjacent land.

While it is true that the maxim has not been uniformly accepted by our judges in this sense, it has certainly been given this effect in many English cases, notably those arising out of the fixing of overhead telegraph and telephone wires. It has even been suggested in connection with schemes for "Sky-writing" that it is possible for a person to be the owner of that portion of the sky which is vertically above his land.

The truth is, as Dr. McNair observes, that no systematic attempt has ever been made to think out the legal position of the air and air-space. The cases which have arisen have been concerned with a state of things at the height of a few feet above the ground level. Obviously the question has now assumed larger proportions and the theory of the extent of ownership must be subjected to revision.

We think there will be general agreement with the view of the author that the maxim can no longer serve as authority for any doctrine of ownership of the air-space up to an indefinite height. The correct view seems to be that previously

suggested by Sir Frederick Pollock and others—namely, that the extent of the right of ownership must be limited by the power of effective control or occupation. To hold otherwise is to ignore all considerations of public convenience and to disregard the right of the public to make use of those elements of nature which, as Baron Parke once observed, are bestowed by Providence for the common benefit of man.

This more rational conception of ownership appears to underlie the provisions of section 9 of the Air Navigation Act, 1920, which declare that the mere flight of aircraft over any property at a height which is in the circumstances reasonable will not be deemed to cause disturbance of possession or enjoyment so as to give rise to an action for trespass or nuisance, provided always that no material damage or loss to person or property is thereby caused. Where such damage or loss arises the owner of the aircraft is liable unless he can establish negligence on the part of the plaintiff, who by the section is relieved of the duty of proving negligence, intention, or any other cause of action. The rule is a stringent one and is in keeping with the present tendency of the law towards the adoption of a standard of absolute liability—the doctrine that a man acts at his peril. In a mechanized age like the present it may fairly be said that no lower standard of care would provide adequate protection to those exposed to unforeseeable dangers.

The learned author deals with other matters concerning which the legislature has not, so far, chosen to intervene and which therefore fall to be determined by the common law. His discussion of these subjects suggests the reflexion that it might be well that legislative action should be taken, as has already been done concerning the law of Trespass and Nuisance, in order to anticipate the uncertainties which may arise in the attempt to apply old principles to novel conditions.

We may be permitted to express regret that in these lectures addressed to an Indian university, the learned author

has not adverted to the state of the law of the air in India. So far, the only Indian legislation concerning aerial navigation consists of the Indian Aircraft Act of 1911 (amended in 1914) and a collection of statutory rules framed under this Act (the Indian Aircraft Rules, 1920).

The Act, which applies to the whole of British India, is a skeleton enactment intended to control the manufacture, possession, use, sale, export, and import of aircraft, power being taken to issue rules and notifications for these purposes. The rules relate mainly to technical matters such as registration, licensing, and the like, but those contained in Part II deal with general safety conditions and, in particular, prohibit flying over cities and towns which may be dangerous to public safety by reason of low altitude or proximity to persons or dwellings. Breaches of these rules are declared to be offences punishable with both fine and imprisonment. But nowhere in the Act or in the rules framed under it is there to be found any provision corresponding to section 9 of the Air Navigation Act, 1920, already referred to. There being no declaration of a right to sue for damages caused by dangerous flying, the question whether such a suit will lie at the instance of a private individual must be decided in accordance with the English common law which the courts in India, in the absence of statute law, apply as the rule of justice, equity, and good conscience. Nice questions may therefore arise touching this right of suit for breach of a statutory duty. In England, according to Dr. McNair, no suit by a private individual would lie for a breach of the provisions of the Act of 1920 or of the Orders in Council made thereunder. *It is submitted*, however, that in British India the right to sue in such cases would probably be conceded.

Another matter which is of peculiar interest in India is the right of privacy. In England no action would ordinarily lie for disturbance of privacy, as such a right is not recognized by the English law. In India, on the other hand, such a right is frequently allowed by way of customary easement, being

based upon the Oriental practice of the seclusion of women. There can be little doubt that a disturbance of this right where it exists in India would be actionable.

Lastly, we may refer to another topic which might usefully have been discussed in its relation to India, namely, the doctrine of sovereignty.

Under Article 1 of the International Convention of the 13th October, 1919, the accepted theory is that every Power has complete and exclusive sovereignty over the air-space above its territory. Under Article 2 of the Convention each of the contracting States accords to all the others freedom of innocent passage in time of peace, subject to compliance with the conditions expressed in the Convention.

This theory has been enunciated in wider language in the preamble to the Air Navigation Act of 1920, which does not, of course, extend to any part of India. How, then, is this conventional doctrine of sovereignty to be understood in relation to India? The native states of India are not independent sovereign states; they have no international status as such. They are under the suzerainty of the Crown as the paramount power, and are represented by the Crown in all international agreements. It would seem, therefore, that they are bound by this Convention, at any rate to the extent of being obliged to allow the right of innocent passage provided by Article 1.

On the other hand, it could hardly be contended that under this Article the Crown has "complete and exclusive sovereignty" over the air-space lying above, say, Hyderabad or Mysore, for these are in no sense national territory of the Crown or of Crown Colonies. Subject, therefore, to the right of passage just mentioned and to any other power of control necessarily involved in the elusive relation which goes by the name of Paramountcy, the position appears to be that it is within the competence of a native state in India to assert and to exercise jurisdiction over the air-space above its territory.

We should have welcomed an expression of opinion on these and other similar matters which are of special interest to those who have to administer the law in India and we trust that in the second edition of this work, which we hope to see at no distant date, the author will be induced to add a chapter dealing particularly with the law of the air in India.

816. B. LINDSAY.

SAKA STUDIES. By Dr. STEN KONOW. Oslo Etnografiske Museum Bulletin 5. 12 × 9½, pp. viii + 198. Oslo, 1932. London: Luzac & Co.

The finds in Central Asia of documents in previously unknown languages have provided a rich field of research. Hoernle distinguished two main linguistic groups, an Indo-European "Language I", with two sub-groups, and a "Language II". Dr. Sten Konow has now investigated the language of the last group, which the late Professor Leumann thought to belong to a separate branch of the Aryan family and called North-Aryan. But it is now certain that it is East-Iranian. Dr. Konow, following Lüders, designates it Saka, East-Iranian being too wide a term, since it also includes Sogdian. He has discarded Staël Holstein's name Tokharian, which he at one time accepted, because the Uigurs so called a separate non-Iranian tongue, i.e. that treated by E. Sieg and W. Siegling in their *Tocharische Grammatik*, 1931.

This language was "for some centuries, the language of administration and literature in the Khotan country". The author elsewhere (*Two Medieval Documents from Tun-Huang*, Oslo, 1929) expressed the opinion that it was also "used in literature over a much wider area". Earlier "it was also used in the coin legends of the Kuṣāṇa ruler, Kaniṣka and his successors". On coins Kaniṣka calls himself *shaonano shao* (i.e. *ṣṣaunānu ṣṣau*) "king of kings". Saka is known "from

numerous fragments of Buddhist literature, and from a series of documents" dating from the eighth century and earlier. The script of the manuscripts now dealt with is Brāhmī, with the addition of a few compound letters not used in India.

This book is dedicated to Sir George Macartney, for it is on manuscript leaves acquired by him that these *Saka Studies* are in the main based. These leaves contain "fragments of the Middle-Iranian version of the *Saṃghāṭasūtra*, which has been made known by Professor Leumann", in *Buddhistische Literatur, nordarisch und deutsch*, 1920. The author has edited a text from both Macartney's and Leumann's material. A few lines of text have also been taken from J. N. Reuter's article in the *Journal de la Société Finno-Ougrienne*, xxx, 37, and from Sir Aurel Stein's *Innermost Asia*, 1026 ff. To this he has added the corresponding Tibetan version from the Kanjur and an English translation. Saka and Tibetan texts are given in Roman transliteration. Readers may regret the absence of any facsimile of the Macartney Brāhmī MS. The above occupies 48 of the total 198 pages.

The first part of the work (pp. 1–62) contains, besides a lucid discussion as to the correct appellation and classification of this language, a close analysis of its main features and structure under the heads of script and sounds, stress, vowels, consonants, and inflexional system. Nouns, adjectives, pronouns, numerals, and verbs are in turn examined.

A valuable feature of this book is the vocabulary in the last 76 pages. "It is not meant to be an etymological dictionary, but rather a grammatical index." Indeed, it is a complete record, with references, of the inflexional forms that occur in this Sūtra. It also includes many words from other Saka texts. The vocabulary, as also the grammar, contains many equivalents in other Iranian languages, Avestan, Pehlevi, Sogdian, and in Sanskrit. We learn that another scholar is compiling an etymological dictionary of Saka.

It would obviously be presumptious for one familiar with neither Saka nor other Middle-Iranian tongues to venture more than general remarks on this volume. But even the non-expert will be impressed by the author's easy exposition of his difficult subject. Only a scholar of Dr. Sten Konow's linguistic calibre could throw so much light on the Saka word-forms and inflexional system, or so satisfactorily elucidate the ways in which Saka often modifies vowels and consonants in loan words from Sanskrit. For instance, we meet with (1) a shortening of unaccented syllables, long in Sanskrit, as *saṃkhārama*, from Skr. *saṃghārāma* "monastery"; (2) a change of consonant as *nāta* from Skr. *nāga*; (3) a change of vowel, *āśirī*, Skr. *ācārya*; *dīvata*, Skr. *devatā*.

A feature that at once strikes the eye in the Saka text is the doubling of certain consonants, which indicate different values from the single letters. Tocharian shows a similar phenomenon. Such are the doublets, *dd*, *gg*, *śś*, *tt*, which often indicate sounds, represented by single letters in Sanskrit. We may instance *chāddra* (*chidra*) *Ggaṃgga* (*Ganges*), *Śśakra* (*Śakra*), *anaṃtta* (*ananta*). *R* is doubled as in *rre* "king". While Saka *t* is a voiced dental *d*, *tt* = Skr. *t*, and *d* is a voiced dental fricative. Of the compound letters peculiar to Saka *tc* and *js*, with certain qualifications, "are the regular representatives of Aryan *č*, *ǰ* respectively." *ts* and *ys* we find even in loan-words, as *saṃtsāra* (Skr. *saṃsāra*), *āysana* (*āsana*). *ys* is the voiced dental *s*, a *z*.

A peculiarity of Saka is that all words end in vowels, in which respect it differs from Tocharian, Pehlevi, and modern Iranian. Even short final vowels are preserved, though a non-final vowel is often shortened or dropped before or after an accented syllable. Such vowel endings are the nominative singular in *ä* (= *i*) and *a* (*gyastä*, Avestan *yazata*, "god", *kantha* "town"), the nom. plurals in *a* and *e* (*gyasta*, *kanthe*).

We are told that material for a complete sketch of the Saka inflexional system is as yet insufficient, and that much

of Leumann's material awaits publication. But clearly the author has used such documents as were available to the best advantage. Here we can notice only a few points of interest. In plurals of nouns traces of the dual are preserved. Medieval Saka has three genders, unlike "the modern Saka dialects, such as Pashto and the Pamir vernaculars, where only the masculine and feminine genders remain". Neuter plural terminations are the same as in Avestan. There are traces of inflexional bases; the six cases are only complete in words of the *a*-base (nom. sing. *ä* = *i* > Iranian **ah*). The inflexion of *a*- and *ā*- bases has been extended to others, such as the *i*- and *u*- bases. Where Saka drops an earlier consonantal final, the noun often falls into the *a* class. Thus *ysārä* "heart", corresponds to Av. *zərəd*. The interrogative-relative base *ka* in *kāma* "which", *kä*, *ku* "when", *kuṣṭa* "where", suggests the modern Persian *kih*, *kai*, *kū*. Many numerals such as *paṃjsa*, *dasau*, *bistä*, *satä*, and *ysāru* resemble modern Persian.

So too with verbs, some bases and even verbal inflexions (if we omit the Saka final vowel) have their counterparts in the Iranian of to-day. We may instance *di* (*did*) "see", *stā* "stand", *niṣad* (*nihad*) "sit down", and the inflexion of the present tense of the verb substantive *ah* (*īmä*, *ī*, *aśtä*, *mä*, *sta*, *īndä*). Verbs have three voices, but "only the active is fully developed". Traces of a passive are few, and the middle is found only in the singular and in the third person plural of the present. From base *bud* "understand", we have sing. 1 *bve*, 2 *bva*, 3 *butte*, and plural 3 *bvāre*, *buvāre*. Some verbs have third person singulars, middle in form but active in sense, as *dṛysde* "holds", *yande* "makes". The base *yan* "make" or "do", is freely used in verbal compounds. While paradigms for the conjunctive and for some past tenses are given, there are many gaps elsewhere, e.g. in the optative and past compound tenses. There is a variety of forms for the imperative singular and for the infinitive. Among the latter (*-tave*, *-te*, or *tä* *-ä*, *-tanu*,

-*äna*) the author recognizes in -*tanu* the modern Iranian infinitive -*tan*, which comes from old Persian -*tanaiy*.

The Saka has both prepositions and postpositions. The *haṃ* element of the Saka postpositions *haṃdrri*, *haṃtsa*, etc., is apparently the same as in *ham-in*, *hamrāh*, *bā-ham* in modern Persian, which in -*ra* still has a postposition.

Among suffixes used to form nouns one notices endings in -*na* (-*ana*, -*āna*, -*īna*, -*ūna*), also found in other Iranian languages, for instance, *rrusana* "bright" (Persian, *raušan*), *myāna* "middle" (Av. *maiδyāna*, Pers. *miyān*), etc.

The foregoing notes give but a slight idea of Dr. Sten Konow's achievement in constructing out of limited material a grammatical sketch of Saka. Till more remains have been published, no fuller grammar will be possible. But though future research may amplify the information now supplied, these *Saka Studies* undoubtedly disclose the main phonetic, morphological, and inflexional characteristics of the language.

Perhaps we may offer some remarks as to the *Saṃghāṭasūtra* itself. In Féer's Table Alphabétique des ouvrages de Kandjour (*Analyse du Kandjour*, p. 537), the title is given as *Sanghâta Sûtra Dharmaparâya* (*Arya*-) "Sublime Sûtra de l'accumulation, énumération de la loi". Purification des vieux, perfection des jeunes. Mdo. iv. 2 (pp. 346–426); 80 folios. Elsewhere we read that the Sutra was pronounced in mixed prose and verse by Śākya on the hill Gṛdhrakuṭa near Rājāgṛha in response to the questioning of a Boddhisattva Sarvaśūra (Tib., *Kun-tu-dpaḥ-bo*). It was translated into Tibetan early in the ninth century (c. A.D. 804–816) by pundits Jina-Mitra, of Kashmir, and Dāna-śila, and *lo-tsā-ba* Ye-śes-sde, a translator of many works in the *Mdo* and *Rgyud* sections of the Kanjur. The group of five sūtras, to which this belongs, is considered by Féer to be of little importance. But this sūtra has now a use in that the Tibetan supplies a key to the Saka, as both are translations from much the same Sanskrit original, the Saka being perhaps the earlier. By reason of the subject-matter the style of this Mahāyāna sūtra differs somewhat

from the secular Tun-Huang document, published in 1929 by Dr. Sten Konow, which was in the main a report of a mission from the king of Khotan to Ṣacu, and which could only be translated in part and tentatively.

The romanization of the Brāhmī is easy to follow and commendably sparing of diacritical marks and symbols. One brief example (p. 103) will illustrate this.

"Bhaiṣajyasenä bodhisatvä tta hve se, Ne daimä gyasta balysa."

"The Bodhisattva Bhaiṣajyasena spoke thus, namely: I do not see, O divine Lord."

Here the only unusual symbol ä denotes the common short *i* sound, found also in other Central Asian languages, such as Tocharian. The transliteration of the Tibetan follows the system used by Professor F. W. Thomas in recent publications of Central Asian Tibetan fragments.

The typography and format of this volume are admirable. Among the very rare misprints, we note injunktive, p. vi, provenience, p. 3, preservad, p. 16, genders (for voices), p. 53, luth (lute), p. 61.

In conclusion, it is perhaps superfluous to record that in this important work Dr. Sten Konow's outstanding scholarship wide linguistic learning, and power of lucid exposition are patent throughout. Students of Saka are fortunate in having available so sound a basis for their investigations.

736. H. LEE SHUTTLEWORTH.

HISTORY OF SHAHJAHAN OF DIHLI. By BANARSI PRASAD SAKSENA. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. xxx + 373. Allahabad: The Indian Press, Ltd., 1932.

This detailed and well-balanced account of Shāhjahān of Delhi will long remain the standard work on this particular period of Mughal rule in India, for Dr. Saksena,

as can be readily gathered from his bibliography and analysis of sources, *has left no stone unturned in order to obtain* access to every available original authority.

The first ten chapters constitute an accurate summary of the political and military history of the reign. One fact emerging from the author's account of the emperor's Central Asian policy, and forming a further proof that distance, combined with poor communications, always defeated the efforts of the Timūrids in India, is the extreme difficulty, almost impossibility, of controlling outlying conquests, such as Balkh, from a distant centre like Delhi. Undoubtedly the most important part of the book is that which deals with Shāhjahān's administrative system, both central and provincial.

The fact that the splendour of the court reached its zenith in this reign has led Dr. Saksena to the conclusion that it was "the most glorious epoch in the medieval period". Nevertheless, he is careful to point out, when dealing with the revenue policy, that Shāhjahān had departed from the main principles of Akbar's rule. Again, in so far as the Hindu population was concerned, this epoch can hardly be termed glorious, for Shāhjahān displayed a bigotry surpassed only by his still more orthodox successor, Aurangzeb. The author also notes that the military system had become far less efficient than it had been in the days of Akbar.

Space forbids even a bare mention of the many and varied topics discussed in this volume, but enough has been written to show that this well-documented and scientific study of a hitherto neglected period should find a place on the bookshelves of every Islamic scholar and student of Muslim rule in India.

C. COLLIN DAVIES.

LUSTRED TILES FROM SAMARRA IN ASHMOLEAN MUSEUM, OXFORD. By M. ABDULLA CHUGHTAI. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{1}{4}$, pp. 60. Lahore: Chabuk Sawaran, 1933.

Mr. Chughtai here describes a set of four octagonal tiles fitting into a cruciform centre piece. They belong to the Ashmolean Museum. He was the first to notice that they bear not only a series of Arabic texts, but also a date (the month Muḥarram, A.H. 661) and, what is much more important, the name of the place Surra man rā or Samarra. Students of Islamic pottery had assumed that the manufacture at Samarra had ceased long before the date of these tiles, which were believed to have been made at Varāmīn. Mr. Chughtai's discovery is thus of considerable value.

R. BURN.

A. 38.

LES MOSQUÉES DU CAIRE. By L. HAUTECOEUR and G. WIET. 2 vols., 13×10: Vol. I, pp. 376; Vol. II, pp. 8; pls. 247. Paris: Leroux, 1932.

This book (vol. i: Text) is divided into two parts, the first and larger portion by M. Wiet being mainly historical, the second, by M. Hautecoeur, dealing exclusively with the monuments. These two parts are of very different value, the former being an admirable historical survey of the Muslim period in Egypt, more complete and illuminating than anything that has been produced hitherto. Both in quality and extent (189 pages against 156) it quite overshadows the second part, to which it is really intended to be an introduction!

The authors, in their *avant-propos*, acknowledge the work of their forerunners, but it is surprising to find that no mention is made of Saladin, Briggs, Richmond, Flury, or Mrs. Devonshire. And if it was worth while mentioning Marcel, why not Coste and Prisse d'Avennes?

M. Wiet makes some very opportune remarks on the small contribution made by the Arabs to the "Glory of the

Khalifate", and points out the absurdity of the term "Arab art", so frequently heard, which he rightly characterizes as "absolutely devoid of meaning". The Arab conquest was a historical fact of enormous import, but culture was provided by the conquered peoples. The first Arabic grammarians and the first collectors of "Traditions" were Persians, likewise most of the great legists and theologians. The Syrians were chiefly responsible for the architecture of the Umayyads, the Persians for that of the Abbasids. In 833 even the army ceased to be Arab and became Turkish.

One of the most admirable features of Part I is the statistical method employed by M. Wiet to summarize a mass of historical facts. For example, on p. 57, in order to bring home to us the appalling insecurity of high office under Mamlūk rule he tells us that out of 220 of the highest officials, sixty-four were condemned to death, five died in prison, eight were assassinated, two died abroad after having been betrayed, sixteen were killed in action, etc., and that only eighty-eight died a natural death. One can realize the work involved in writing this single sentence, but the irreproachable accuracy of the picture thereby obtained is the reward.

Again (on p. 69), following the same method, he takes Carra de Vaux's *Penseurs de l'Islam*, which contains 200 biographies of leading historians, philosophers, geographers, and scientists. Of these, only nineteen lived in Egypt, and few of these were of Egyptian stock. Of ninety-nine Muslim mystical writers whose work is discussed by Massignon, only six were Egyptian. It is scarcely necessary to point out the value of historical generalizations based on such firm foundations. An admirable chapter is devoted to the trade routes and their importance for the history of art.

On p. 60 he makes the illuminating remark that Baybars succeeded (in almost expelling the Crusaders) where Saladin failed, because Saladin weakened himself by creating feudalism, whereas Baybars strengthened himself by suppressing it and presenting to them a centralized authority.

The only quarrel we have with this admirable historical survey is the complete absence of documentation, which the author excuses by saying: "We have shown in other works that we do not lack references to Arabic authors." This seems to imply a complete misunderstanding of the purpose of documentation, which is not intended to "show off" the extent of the author's reading, but to enable readers to see to what century and to what author any given statement goes back, and to enable them, when inclined, to take up the threads themselves.

The second part of the book, unfortunately, does not maintain the high level of the first, in fact it bears all the signs of having been compiled in haste. Will it be believed that there is not a single original plan in the book? One would at least have expected a new plan of the Mosque of Baybars (plate iv), which in 1918 was cleared of the buildings that encumbered it. Those given are reproduced to every conceivable scale (none to a simple fraction such as 1 : 200 or 1 : 300) and in nine cases no scale at all is given. Some have even been reproduced from Baedeker's *Egypt*, one is a fantasy of Coste published in 1839, another (of the Madrasa of Qalāūn, fig. 10) contains gross inaccuracies. Nor are the plans always arranged in chronological order, even where there would have been no difficulty in doing so, as in plates vi and xi. And, although there are 247 plates, will it be believed that there is not a single illustration of the wonderful ornament on the soffits of the arches and window recesses of Ibn Ṭūlūn's mosque, nor of the four window grilles which certainly date from the ninth century?

Here are a few of the more extraordinary statements. "The plan of the Dome of the Rock is Byzantine" (p. 202); however, no Byzantine forerunners are cited. Suggests that the present plan of the Mosque of 'Amr goes back to A.D. 827 (p. 202), whereas Pococke's plan proves that the present plan only goes back to 1798. Quotes Choisy to the effect that pointed arches exist in the East of the Roman epoch (p. 204),

Choisy cites Arak el-Emîr (Transjordania), which is an entirely trabeated building (see H. C. Butler, *Ancient Architecture in Syria*, I, *Southern Syria*). At Mshattâ "existe la niche avec la triple voussure !" (p. 206). Nobody else has seen it. Speaks of towers which *flank* the curtain walls of the mosque of Baghdâd (p. 208), "dont la partie centrale *date* de Mansour (149 H. = 766)." This mosque disappeared in the seventeenth century ! The walls were of mud brick, and Herzfeld, in his proposed reconstruction, gives the walls flanking towers on the analogy of the mud walled enclosures of Sâmarrâ. The towers are a deduction, they do not exist, and M. Hautecoeur must have merely turned over the pages of Herzfeld's *Archäologische Reise* in great haste, without reading the text. "The Great Mosque at Sâmarrâ was a mosque on columns" (p. 208); the excavations of Sarre and Herzfeld have shown that the roof rested on piers. Columns of brick at Diyârbekr (p. 208); this would be surprising; the authorities quoted are Sarre and Herzfeld, *Archäologische Reise*, I, p. 361 (there are only 252 pages); and Strzygowski, *Amida*, pp. 44 and 310, where I can find no such statement. Doubts that mâchicoulis at Bâb an-Naṣr can be original (A.D. 1087), for "all dated mâchicoulis are of thirteenth century (p. 236), yet on p. 256 he says that Saladin (twelfth century) introduced them from Syria, where they seem to have been born in the eleventh century. Saladin certainly did not introduce them into Egypt for the simple reason that none occur either in his part of the walls of Cairo or in his work at the Citadel, but only in the work of his successor al-ʿÂdil. On the other hand they were employed in Syria for a military purpose as early as A.D. 551 at Dâr Qità, and in A.D. 729 at Qaṣr al-Ḥair. "Perhaps some French artist accompanied the Frankish ambassadors who spent ten months in Cairo in 1095" (p. 238); this to explain a decorative feature in a gate built in 1087 !

But why continue ? M. Hautecoeur is not even *au fait* with the most recent literature of his subject; e.g. his remarks about the carved jambs of Sultan Ḥasan show that he has

not read a memoir in the *B.I.F.A.O.*, t. xxi, pp. 53–4, and his attempt to trace the origin of the stalactite portal (pp. 282–3) shows that he has not read my article in the same periodical, t. xxvi, pp. 139–43.

The one bright spot is the collection of plates; the photographs are excellent but, curiously enough, the name of the photographer (Lekejian), who is responsible for the greater part of them, is nowhere to be found. Unfortunately the titles are not always correct, e.g. the same photograph of the miḥrāb of Shagarat ad-Durr appears twice, once with its correct title (plate 62) and once as the "mihrab latéral de Sayyida Roukayya (plate 39), and a view of the interior of the mosque of Abū Bakr ibn Muzhīr appears as "Mosquée Bourdaini".

The collotypes are splendid and show what this process is capable of in really skilled hands.

A. 56. K. A. C. CRESWELL.

SUBBILULIUMA ET SON TEMPS. By EUGÈNE CAVAIGNAC. Publications de la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Strasbourg, fasc. 58. 10 × 6½. pp. 111, ills. 1, map 1. Paris: Société d'Edition Les Belles Lettres. 1932. Frs. 15.

How great has been the progress realized in the last decade by Hittitological studies can be seen easily from this book of Cavaignac, dealing with the political and war-like activities of Šubbiluliuma, one of the greatest of the kings of the Hittite empire, who reigned from 1385 to 1350 B.C. Cavaignac has published recently in the *Revue des Études Anciennes* and through the editor Heitz of Strasbourg a French translation of the Annals of the Hittite king, which had been published previously in transliteration by Forrer in *Boghazköi-Texte in Umschrift*, ii, 1, Leipzig, 1922. Some of his studies on

Hittite civilization and on the history of the ancient Near East have induced him to face the difficult and rather intricate problem of the chronology of the warlike expeditions of the king of Ḫatti.

Without a chronological scheme of the reign of Šubbiluliuma it is utterly impossible to understand the importance and the political import of his many wars waged in different directions. Cavaignac tries therefore first of all to bring some order into the chronology of the many different texts we have at our disposal to spin the historical thread of his political activities. Among those sources a prominent position is occupied by not a few of the letters of Tell el-'Amārnah, the more so as they do not come from the Hittite side and therefore do not represent the point of view of the Anatolian kingdom, but the majority of them emanate from his adversaries. But Cavaignac himself must admit that up to now it has been impossible to adopt a sure chronological scheme and that therefore it is better to limit oneself to a geographical description of the military campaigns of the king. The effort the author makes to put into chronological order the complicated and mostly obscure historical events of Northern Syria, where for a long time waged their political and warlike battles Ḫatti, Mitanni, Egypt and the small indigenous States, which according to the political contingencies were leaning towards the Sun of Ḫatti or the Pharaoh of Egypt, is praiseworthy.

The author gives first of all in the first chapter, pp. 3–14, an exact sketch of the political situation of the ancient Near East prior to the advent of Šubbiluliuma to the throne, from 1450 to 1390. In the second chapter Cavaignac writes about the first campaigns of the king in Syria, from 1390 to 1378. Here the Hittite king had to face the political situation brought about with great ability by Tušratta of Mitanni in favour of his country, a situation detrimental to the interests of Ḫatti and therefore for the most part based wholly on the friendship of Mitanni and the Pharaoh. Both countries

had to bear the pressure of the Hittite empire towards the south, towards the sun, richness, and higher civilization. But the Hittite king succeeded in breaking up thoroughly Mitannian power on the western side of the Euphrates and to impose on the small nations of Northern Syria the ascendency of the Anatolian kingdom. The author knows how to make use ingeniously of all the news given us by the letters of Tell el-'Amārnah on the politics, often tortuous and many-sided, of the many and small States to the south of Taurus, which, besides adapting their own policy to that of the three great powers in the struggle for supremacy, wanted to increase their own might in comparison to that of their immediate neighbours.

Cavaignac goes over in the third chapter, pp. 34–49, to the description of the military exploits of Šubbiluliuma between 1378 and 1358 in Asia Minor, especially against the semi-barbarian Gasgeans which inhabited the territory lying between Ḫatti and the Black Sea and continuously menaced the centre of the empire of the Hittites. The author places the country of Kizwatna, contrary to the majority of critics, to the S.E. of the River Halys, stretching to the south till joining the frontier of Ḫatti on the Gulf of Alexandretta on the Mediterranean Sea, pp. 34–6. Cavaignac entertains no doubt that the Aḫḫiyawa of the Hittite texts are the Achaeans themselves, who as far back as about 1400 B.C. entered into contact with the Hittites, p. 41.

In the two following chapters, pp. 50–85, the author deals with the new campaigns in Syria from 1378 to 1353, writes in the last chapter, pp. 86–91, again about Asia Minor, and comes finally to the death of Šubbiluliuma which occurred in the year 1350.

The book has in the last pages an excellent chronological table from 1450 to 1320, which embraces all the important events of the ancient Near East and constitutes a good base for further chronological researches on the thrilling age of Tell el-'Amārnah. A map of the Hittite world gives

a good geographical illustration of the exposition of the author.

Cavaignac has written a good little book, indispensable to all those who want to put into chronological order the many facts we know about the politics of the great and small powers of the ancient Near East in the 'Amārnah age.

709. GIUSEPPE FURLANI.

THE KĀÇYAPAPARIVARTA: A MAHĀYĀNASŪTRA OF THE RATNAKŪTA CLASS. Edited from the original Sanskrit in Tibetan and in Chinese by Baron A. von STAËL-HOLSTEIN. 11 × 8, pp. xxvi + 234 + [2]. Shanghai: The Commercial Press, 1926.

A COMMENTARY TO THE KĀÇYAPAPARIVARTA. Edited in Tibetan and in Chinese by Baron A. von STAËL-HOLSTEIN. 10¼ × 7½, pp. xxiv + 340, paper covers. Pekin: The National Library of Peking and the National Tsinghua University, 1933.

INDEX TO THE TIBETAN TRANSLATION OF THE KĀÇYAPAPARIVARTA. By FRIEDRICH WELLER. Harvard Sino-Indian Series, Volume 1. 11½ × 9, pp. vi + 252, paper covers. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Harvard-Yenching Institute, 1933.

The *Kāśyapa-parivarta* exists in Tibetan and Chinese versions as an item in what is called the *Ratna-kūṭa* collection of Buddha's discourses. By the name *Kāśyapa-parivarta*, "Kāśyapa Chapter," it does not seem to be mentioned in any Sanskrit text; but, as is shown by Baron von Staël-Holstein, all the oldest quotations of the *Ratna-kūṭa* relate to passages in this work, and it is likely that the *K.-parivarta* was originally the entire *Ratna-kūṭa*. It may be noted that another item also of the *Ratna-kūṭa*, namely the *Ratna-rāśi*, has Kāśyapa for an interlocutor. In any case, the *K.-parivarta* is a very old work, since it was translated into Chinese as early as the second century A.D.

The Sanskrit original followed in the present *editio princeps* is a unique MS. sent by Mr. Petrovsky some time before 1900 to the St. Petersburg Academy. Unfortunately it is imperfect and in its spellings, etc., shows many defects and peculiarities of Central Asian Sanskrit. As being an *unicum*, it has been reproduced by the editor *literatim*.

In the editing of Buddhist Sanskrit texts a most valuable control is furnished, as is well known, by Chinese and Tibetan versions, especially the latter. Baron von Staël-Holstein himself published in 1913 (*Bibliotheca Buddhica*, xv) a poem of Aśvaghoṣa, the *Gaṇḍī-stotra*, reproduced from a Chinese transcript by aid of a rendering in Tibetan. In the present instance the Tibetan version, by Jinamitra, Śīlendrabodhi, and Ye-śes-sde, belongs to approximately the same period (ninth century) as the Sanskrit MS., with which it is in close agreement.

We now come to the most remarkable feature of the volume. It exhibits not only the Sanskrit and Tibetan texts, but also no less than four Chinese versions. These belong respectively to the second, third, fourth, and tenth centuries A.D., and their variations afford interesting evidence of changes and accretions in the text. Baron von Staël-Holstein holds with apparently good reason that the earliest translation exhibits, as is natural in virtue of its date, a less developed Mahā-yāna doctrine than do the others, and he suggests that the text which it represents may have exercised an influence upon Nāgārjuna's teaching. We may say, indeed, that even the Sanskrit text preserves an early stage in the Mahā-yāna. The editor's well-known meticulous care in textual matters has had ample scope in this work, since not only the Tibetan, but also the Chinese versions exist in several editions, which he has conscientiously compared in detail; for the most part he renounces the thought of revising the Chinese versions, for which critical notes exist already in print.

The second publication cited above is a further instalment of the whole design, which is to be completed by a translation

with notes. It contains a Tibetan version of a commentary by Sthiramati, from the *Bstan-ḥgyur*, together with the Chinese version of Bodhirruci, from the *Tripiṭaka*. The authorship of the Tibetan version is unknown. Since Bodhirruci was working in China during the early part of the sixth century A.D., the Indian author of the commentary is likely to be the Sthiramati who is usually associated with Guṇamati and who probably belonged to the period following the time of Asaṅga and Vasubandhu, say, to the fifth century A.D. His *ṭikā* presents, after the long preamble expounded on pp. iii–iv of Baron von Staël-Holstein's preface, a straightforward exegesis of the text with apparently little literary citation. In the edition the Tibetan version forms the basis, while the Chinese, which differs considerably by way of defect and to some extent by way of excess, is given as an interlinear adjunct. The *variae lectiones* of the several Tibetan prints are of no great importance; they are collected on pp. 327–340 of this volume. In the notes to the preface there are some emendations of the Chinese text; but the general discussion of the textual history of the commentary is reserved. In the preface the editor also takes occasion to make use of the work for the purpose of criticizing a few European mistranslations of expressions in Sanskrit Buddhist texts and to examine the evidence in favour of punctuating the common formal opening of such texts, *evam me śrutam ekasmin samaye*, after the word *samaye*, a surprising procedure which seems to have been discussed even by ancient authorities.

The very elaborate index compiled by Dr. Friedrich Weller is to be followed by a concise Indian (Sanskrit?) index and an index to the Chinese version of the *Sūtra*, which will then be sufficiently equipped with such aids, since an inclusion of the Mongol version, which is likely to be quite dependent upon the Tibetan, would be a luxury. Dr. Weller's work, extremely full and elaborate (252 pages, 4to), does not, indeed, furnish to Tibetan lexicography many new forms or significations; but in respect of Sanskrit equivalents it makes a decided

addition to our resources, with the advantage in each case of a sufficiently extensive context. It will be observed that, where, through lacunæ in the text, the Sanskrit equivalent is noted as wanting, it is not at all implied that such might not be inferred or is not known from other sources.

The *Kāśyapa-parivarta* is an important work, not only as representing an early stage of the Mahā-yāna, but also on account of its literary quality: it is readable and rendered interesting, like the no less ancient *Sūtra in Forty Articles*, by its many similes or parables. Studying and publishing such a text in China, Baron von Staël-Holstein has had to contend with great difficulties, due to inaccessibility of European and Indian publications and to the limited resources of the presses. On the other hand, his position in the Peking University has brought him into contact with the most accomplished Chinese scholars, a situation of which no one is more qualified to take advantage. He has lit in Peking a lamp of Buddhist Sanskrit study, from which in good time we may expect illumination not less abundant and valuable than that which we are now so long accustomed to be receiving from Japan.

A. 43 F. W. THOMAS.

SIR ANTHONY SHERLEY AND HIS PERSIAN ADVENTURE. Edited by Sir E. DENISON ROSS. The Broadway Travellers. 9 × 5½, pp. xxxviii + 293. London: Routledge and Sons, 1933. 12*s.* 6*d.*

So romantic—even in a romantic age—were the adventures of the three Sherley brothers that, as early as 1607, a play was written on the subject in London by "a trinity of poets"; and it seems strange that hitherto no satisfactory account has been produced of any one of the three. This deficiency Sir Denison Ross has set himself with his usual enthusiasm to make good in the case of the second brother, Anthony; and it will be noted with satisfaction that he promises to deal later with the careers of both Thomas and Robert.

The first part of the present volume is occupied by a long and painstaking biography of Anthony Sherley, drawn from materials which the editor has been collecting for many years from widely diverse sources. The second part consists of reprints of four narratives relating to Anthony's journey to Persia and back. These are all from scarce books, and one has not previously appeared in English. Then come three appendixes, giving (1) extracts from Anthony's own *Relation*, (2) a couple of letters written by him from Russia, and (3) an account in French of his entry into Rome. A very full index completes the work, which contains also a useful bibliography and a number of maps and illustrations.

The story thus unfolded is, indeed, a remarkable one. In May, 1598, Sherley, who had already shown reckless bravery in the wars in the Low Countries and in France and in a raid upon the Spanish possessions in the West Indies, sailed from Venice with about thirty followers for Syria, with the object of making his way to Persia. Some two years later he reappeared in Christendom, at the court of the German Emperor at Prague In the interim he had spent some time in Persia, where he has so ingratiated himself with Shāh 'Abbās that he had been dispatched by him, in conjunction with a Persian colleague, on an embassy to the Powers of Europe. Such employment was entirely to Sherley's taste, for he loved display; and, moreover, it was likely to prove highly profitable, since it was the custom to entertain such envoys magnificently and to reward them lavishly.

The object of the mission was to concert plans for a simultaneous attack, from east and west, upon the dominions of their common bugbear, the Turkish Sultan. This scheme, the offspring of Sherley's fertile brain, was warmly welcomed by the Emperor Rudolph, whose dominions bore the brunt of the Turkish attacks; and that monarch straightway sent an ambassador of his own to discuss the matter with the Shāh. Sherley and his colleague then proceeded to Italy. Avoiding Venice, as being pro-Turkish, they made their way to Rome,

where they were received by Pope Clement VIII. That pontiff, however, though interested in the concessions Sherley alleged that he had obtained for the toleration of Christians in Persia, was too prudent to lend any active support to the proposed league. At Rome the dissensions between the two ambassadors came to a head, and the Persian went on alone to Spain and Portugal, whence he returned to his own country by sea. Sherley himself had letters from Shāh 'Abbās to the Queen of England, the King of France, and the King of Spain and Portugal; but these he made no attempt to deliver, having reason to fear a hostile reception in each case. Elizabeth, indeed, was very wroth that a subject of hers should presume to interfere in high politics without her permission; nor was she disposed, for the sake of Persia, to jeopardize the growing trade of her merchants with Turkey. The French were equally concerned to maintain their favoured position in that kingdom; while the Spaniards were likely to have been prejudiced against the Englishman by the representations of his Persian colleague. Sherley, therefore, on leaving Rome, proceeded to Venice, apparently with some idea of returning to Persia. Money, however, was lacking; a safe passage through Turkish territory was not to be expected; and Sherley's success had scarcely been so great as to enable him to face 'Abbās with equanimity. So he lingered indecisively at Venice, until he got into trouble with the Council of Ten, was arrested, and was finally expelled from Venetian territory at the end of 1603.

After spending some time to little purpose in other parts of Italy, Sherley was invited to Prague by the Emperor; and in the autumn of 1605 was sent by him to Morocco, with the object of creating a diversion in that quarter against the Turks. In this he had little success; and instead of returning direct to Germany he proceeded by way of Lisbon to Madrid. He had already reconciled himself to the Catholic Church, and, seeing no prospect of returning to England with credit, he decided to enter the service of the King of Spain. His ready

tongue stood him in good stead, and a scheme which he pressed upon Philip III, of damaging Turkey and benefiting Portugal by diverting the trade in Persian silk to Hormuz and Lisbon, led to his being given a high post in the Mediterranean fleet, together with a seat upon the Council of the kingdom of Naples. To Naples he accordingly proceeded in 1607; and in the same year he visited again the Emperor Rudolph, who a little later conferred on him the dignity of a count of the Roman Empire.

It is unnecessary to follow the story in detail. Anthony lost his naval command early in 1610; and from that time he remained in Spain, hatching endless schemes, all ending in futility. Meanwhile, although he was in receipt of a good pension from Philip, his extravagance was such that he was sinking lower and lower and was at times almost starving. After 1636 he disappears entirely from view, and the date of his death is not known.

This strange story has been admirably elucidated by Sir Denison Ross, who has spared no pains to unravel the complicated knots of the narrative. Sherley himself never scrupled to bend the truth to serve his purpose, and his statements are not to be relied upon; while the other authorities are frequently discordant. Even now there are gaps which may possible be filled in time, when the Spanish archives are completely examined. But at all events we have in the present volume a careful examination of the facts now available, and the result is an account full of interest of one of the most remarkable adventurers of the Elizabethan era.

A. 44.

WILLIAM FOSTER.

JAINISM IN NORTH INDIA, 800 B.C.–A.D. 526. By C. J. SHAH, with a foreword by H. HERAS. 11 × 7½, pp. xxiv + 292, ills. 26, maps 2. London: Longmans Green & Co., 1932. 42s.

The book is not a summary of the Jaina doctrine, but rather the history of the spread and diffusion of Jainism

within the limits of time indicated in the title, and the outline of the political environments in which it developed.

There are only a few points in which the author expounds his personal views. As a rule his purpose seems to have been that of compiling a clear and well-informed account of the results reached by scholars on the various topics connected with the history of Jainism. But this fact does not diminish the importance of the work, since we are here confronted, for the first time, with an accurate and coherent account of the fortunes of Jainism in North India from its very beginning up to the end of the Gupta dynasty.

The so-called prehistory of Jainism has received due attention, and an attempt has been made to state the difference of views between Pārśva and Mahāvīra, which gives the author the opportunity of writing a short but fairly exact résumé of early Jaina dogmatics. On the other hand, the interferences of Jainism with the political powers of India lead him to examine all records, literary as well as epigraphical, from the inscription of Kharavela—whose interpretation may perhaps raise some doubts—to those of Mathurā. When we consider the great amount of research work which is being pursued in the field of Jainism in India as well as in Europe, we must appreciate the diligent and useful repertoire under review.

597. GIUSEPPE TUCCI.

MAHĀYĀNAVIṂŚAKA OF NAGARJUNA. Visva-Bharati Studies, No. 1; Reconstructed Sanscrit Text, the Tibetan and the Chinese Versions with an English translation by V. BHATTACHARYA. 9½ × 7, pp. iv + 44. Calcutta: Visva-Bharati Book Shop, 1931. Rs. 5.

This volume contains the restored Sanskrit text, the English translation, the Tibetan and Chinese translations of a small mahāyāna work attributed to Nāgārjuna. The writer is very cautious as regards the authorship of this text. To

me it also appears that it cannot be attributed to the great Nāgārjuna, but rather to the Siddha Nāgārjuna. It represents a kind of *hṛdaya* or summary of the dogmatics of Mādhyamika as accepted also by Tantric writers.

The comparative notes testify to the diligence of the author, who has succeeded in restoring a Sanskrit text perfectly intelligible, though faithfully adherent to the Tibetan translation. His translation therefore marks a progress on that published by Yamaguchi in the *Eastern Buddhist*, vol. iv, n. 1–2.

626. GIUSEPPE TUCCI.

The thanks of the Society are also due for the following volumes :—

INDIAN IDEALISM. By SURENDRANATH DASGUPTA. London : Cambridge University Press, 1933. 10*s.* 6*d.*

DONUM NATALICUM, OSCARI VON SYDOW, OBLATUM. Göteborgs Högskolas Arsskrift XXXIX, 1933.

RISĀLAH I KHATT-I-DĀI (Proposals for the improvement of Arabic Writing). By MUHAMMED ALI, DĀ'I AL ISLAM. Hyderabad, Deccan, 1933.

HANDBOOK TO THE RECORDS IN THE ALIENATION OFFICE, POONA. Peshwa's Daftar. Bombay : Government Central Press, 1933. 1*s.* 2*d.*

INDEX TO THE SELECTIONS FROM THE PESHWA'S DAFTAR, Nos. 1–25. Bombay : Government Central Press, 1933. 4*s.* 9*d.*

THE ALEXANDER BOOK. Translated into English from MSS. in the British Museum and Bibliothèque Nationale. By Sir E. A. WALLIS BUDGE. London : Oxford University Press, 1933. 7*s.* 6*d.*

SOME ASPECTS OF THE VĀYU PURĀNA. By V. R. R. DIKSHITAR. Madras : University of Madras, 1933.

THE GOLDEN BREATH. Studies in Five Parts of the New India. By MULK RAJ ANAND. The Window of the East. London: John Murray. 3s. 6d.

KARTENWERK DER ERDMAGNETISCHEN FORSCHUNGS-EXPEDITION NACH ZENTRAL-ASIEN, 1926–8. Teil 1. China und Tibet. By WILHELM FILCHNER. Gotha: Justus Perther, 1933.

KAMNI. The Story of a Village Girl. By Sir JOGENDRA SINGH. Lahore: Uttar Chand Kapur. 1931.

LEHRGANG DER CHINESISCHEN SCHRIFTSPRACHE. III. CHRISTOMATHIE. By E. HAENISCH. Leipzig: Asia Major, 1933. RM. 15.

ALLAHABAD UNIVERSITY STUDIES. Vol. IX. Part I (Arts Section). Allahabad: Senate House, 1933. Rs 7, As 8.

THE HERALD WIND. By CLARA CANDLIN. The Window of the East Series, 1933. 3s. 6d.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF YOGA. By ELIZABETH SHARPE. Luzac and Co., 1933. 2s. 6d.

OBITUARY NOTICES

Professor R. Ramsay Wright, LL.D.

Ob. 5th September, 1933.

Dr. Ramsay Wright was born at Alloa in September, 1852, and was educated there and at the Royal High School and University of Edinburgh. Before he had fully qualified in medicine his attainments in biology, which he studied under Professor Sir Charles Wyville Thompson, led to an appointment to lecture on natural history in University College, Toronto. There he remained for thirty-eight years, becoming Dean of the Faculty of Arts and Vice-President of the University, having held the professorship of biology for many years, and receiving the title of Emeritus Professor when he retired in 1912. He wrote many valuable articles on zoology, including a report on Fish and Fisheries of Ontario. Beside these, his work at Toronto was remarkable for his capacity as a teacher, and for his having introduced into the medical curriculum the teaching of practical biology so early as 1875.

In addition to his attainments in science he was an unusually competent linguist with a wide knowledge of the classics, Hebrew, and half a dozen European languages, including Russian. He read widely in literature and had a cultured taste in art and music. The universities of Toronto and Edinburgh both honoured him with the degree of LL.D.

Though he became a member of this Society only in 1927 his interest in Oriental subjects was much earlier. Attracted to the study of Persian by Heron-Allen's works on Omar Khayyam he proceeded to learn Arabic also. He had intended on settling in Oxford, near his friend Sir William Osler, to continue biological research, but was diverted by the War, during which he did valuable service on the *Review of the Foreign Press*, for which his knowledge of European languages specially fitted him. In 1919 his translation of a Persian

primer on medicine (Bodleian No. 1617) appeared in a volume of contributions on physical and medical research presented to Sir William Osler by pupils and friends. He then settled down to edit and translate with notes a treatise on astrology by Abu'l Rayhān al-Bīrūnī. His only publication on this subject which occupied him so long was a note in German, identifying a Persian MS., referred to by Greaves in his *Astronomica quaedam* (1650), which appeared in the proceedings of the Physico-Medical Society of Erlangen (1926–7). But his edition of al-Bīrūnī's treatise is complete, and it is hoped it will appear shortly.

R. BURN.

Jessie Payne Margoliouth

On the 18th of August, 1933, the last direct link with the *Thesaurus Syriacus* was broken. No scholar could mention the name of the late Mrs. Margoliouth without a reference to her illustrious father and his monumental work, as it was she who, with the help of her husband, brought to a successful end the last part of the book from the middle of the letter *Shīn* to the end of *Tāu*. Trained in the domain of Syriac lexicography under the expert supervision of her father, she undertook also, in 1903, some eight years after his death, to publish an abridged English edition of the *Thesaurus*, under the title of *A Compendious Syriac Dictionary*. In this work she followed a happy *via media* between her father's highly scientific work and the more popular *Lexicon Syriacum* of Brockelmann and *Dictionarium Syriaco-Latinum* of Brun, which had appeared almost simultaneously in 1895. These two works (especially the latter) give the Latin equivalents of Syriac words, often without any explanatory examples or phrases, while Mrs. Margoliouth supplies to her readers all the specifically Syriac expressions found in the more commonly read authors. One of the most difficult tasks of a lexicographer is this happy selection of the terms and expressions which he intends

to explain in relation to the frequency of their occurrence in the literature of the language.

As there is no finality in any dictionary so long as new texts are being discovered and new works printed. Mrs. Margoliouth further undertook the gigantic task of bringing the *Thesaurus* up to date, by writing a supplement to it, which she published in 1927, under the title of *Supplement to the Thesaurus Syriacus.* Twenty-seven years had elapsed between the publication of the *Thesaurus* and the appearance of its *Supplement.* She spent all those years in reading Syriac books that were gradually being printed, and in perusing unedited texts that had not fallen under her father's notice. The same masterly hand that was used in compiling the *Thesaurus* is seen in every page of its *Supplement.* Mrs. Margoliouth's *Supplement* may in future be further supplemented, but it will be many years before it is superseded.

It follows from what has been said that Mrs. Margoliouth could not have written many books. The technical and scientific character of her main work did not give her leisure for any further writing except some short reviews and articles, but to her may truly refer the words of the Latin sage: *Timeo hominem unius libri.* The writer remembers having met in 1927 an eminent Orientalist who had been to 88 Woodstock Road, Oxford, where Professor and Mrs. Margoliouth then lived. "The house," he said, "is not a *house*, but a *store-house* of erudition, where Mrs. Margoliouth, with her extensive Syriac knowledge, supplies the last volume of a living encyclopædia."

A word must here be said of the tender affection and genuine love that Mrs. Margoliouth felt for all the branches of the important Syrian Church, in the history and literature of which she was so well versed. Her love was even stronger for the East Syrian or Nestorian section of it, and the last lines which she wrote dealt with the sad fate of its present Patriarch, the direct descendant of an ecclesiastical hierarchy

which for centuries held under its spiritual sceptre the Eastern half of Christendom, which stretched from the Mediterranean shores to Manchuria, and from the Caspian Sea to the Indian Ocean. This devotion to the cause of the Nestorians, which she carried to her death-bed, began from the time when, with Professor Margoliouth, she paid a visit to their country and saw the oppressing yoke under which they lived.

Et fructus vester maneat!

A. Mingana.

Professor A. A. Bevan

By the death of Professor Bevan the Society loses one of its oldest members, whose profound erudition had long been prized by the inner circle of those concerned with Orientalism. He will be sadly missed at international gatherings, where, speaking both French and German perfectly, he was so often an honoured and delightful guest. It seems fitting that the Lord Almoner's Professorship of Arabic, which he held during forty years, should expire with him; no one coming after him could have given to the Chair such distinction and dignity as he did, nor was he embarrassed by the fact that the stipend was almost as nominal as the official duties attached to it. Regarding the events of his life little need be said here, and indeed there is not much to say. Except for brief periods in vacation he rarely left Cambridge: Trinity College, of which he was elected Fellow in 1890, remained his home till the end. He was also a Fellow of the British Academy. Educated at Lausanne and Strassburg, Bevan had already laid the foundations of his immense Semitic learning when in 1884 he came from Nöldeke to William Wright. Their influence appears in all his work; with the former he kept up a pretty regular correspondence covering about half a century. Although Arabic was the main subject of his studies he knew Hebrew and Syriac equally well, while his knowledge of Persian literature, especially Firdausí and Jalálu'ddín Rúmí, went

far deeper than his modesty would allow him to admit. Apart from a Commentary on the Book of Daniel, still described by experts as a masterpiece, his most important work was done in the field of Arabian poetry, and it is very characteristic that he undertook it, not for any reasons of his own, but in order to carry out the wishes and complete the labours of friends who had passed away. His edition of the *Naqá'iḍ* of Jarír and Farazdaq in three large volumes (1905–1912) is a magnificent tribute of *pietas* to his old teacher William Wright. On the death of Sir Charles Lyall, with whom he virtually collaborated in preparing the text and translation of the *Mufaḍḍaliyyát*, Bevan compiled the admirable Indexes published in the Gibb Series (1924). His critical powers were extraordinary, and he never spared himself. Other scholars may have cherished as high ideals, but few can have succeeded in living up to them so thoroughly. On one occasion he came to his colleague, E. G. Browne, looking so distressed that Browne thought some calamity must have befallen him; it turned out, however, that he had just discovered a slight metrical flaw in a single verse of his edition of the *Naqá'iḍ*. I remember asking him whether he could give me the reference to a word omitted in Flügel's Concordance to the Qur'án; next day I received a note containing not only that but also a list of nearly a dozen similar mistakes, which he had entered in his own copy. The value of his contributions to Arabic lexicography is well known. These form but a small part of the material which, several years ago, he began to arrange and hoped eventually to publish as a supplement to existing dictionaries. Unfortunately the work, as he has left it, comprises less than a quarter of the Arabic alphabet. Bevan spent much time in lecturing, and those who, like the present writer, enjoyed the glaring contrast between his method and Browne's would probably agree that each in his own way made a deep and lasting impression upon them. As this notice can but hint at the personal qualities which endeared Bevan to his friends, let me conclude it with some words written

from Egypt by a former pupil of his and mine: "His memory will always be for me a great inspiration, and his many kindnesses I shall ever remember with great gratitude. Having known him and studied with him, I feel that I have known and studied under the great scholars of the nineteenth century, from whom he learnt and whose accuracy and enthusiasm he so faithfully reflected."

R. A. NICHOLSON.

Dr. Robert Halliday

Born at Fauldhouse, a small village in West Lothian, on 28th March, 1864, Robert Halliday died at Maulmain, Burma, on 1st July, 1933. He had been a member of our Society since 1909. The son of a miner, he went as a very young lad into the coalpit, but continued his education in his spare time for a number of years, during which he acquired a knowledge of Greek, Latin, and Hebrew, with a view to the mission field. Having thus and otherwise qualified, he arrived in Burma as a duly accredited missionary towards the end of 1892, spent more than seventeen years in that capacity at Ye, then twelve more at Phrapathom, Siam, and finally returned to Burma to continue his missionary work at Maulmain. In course of time he had become well versed in Burmese and Siamese and had also acquired a considerable knowledge of Pali. But his actual missionary work, both in Burma and Siam, was among the Mons, and in their language he was *facile princeps*. His Mon-English dictionary, published in 1922, is the only one and in later years he added many words and phrases in his own interleaved copy, which may serve some day as the nucleus of a supplement. Besides a number of contributions to the *Journal* of the Burma Research Society, he produced in 1917 a monograph on the Mons under the title *The Talaings*, edited several Mon texts and inscriptions, and translated the whole of the Old Testament into the language. In 1932 the University of Rangoon

conferred on him the honorary degree of D.Litt. in recognition of his scholarly work.

To me he had been an intimate friend and highly valued consultant and collaborator for a quarter of a century; and I am deeply in his debt for the ungrudging help which he never failed to give when I referred to him, as I often did, some obscure point in the Mon inscriptions of Burma which I was engaged in editing. I endeavoured to pay an instalment of my obligations by giving him such assistance as I could when he was editing the Mon inscriptions of Siam, which appeared in 1930 in the *Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient*. But in this connection I could do but little; and for many acts of kindness and hospitality received at his hands, and from his family, I must needs remain a debtor. I do not think he would have wished it to be otherwise, for I never met a more unselfish man.

C. O. BLAGDEN.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER

The Libyan Desert

On 6th July, 1933, Mr. W. B. K. Shaw, who, as an archæologist, had been a member of Major R. A. Bagnold's last two expeditions to the Libyan Desert, in the latter's absence abroad, read a paper before the Society. Much of what follows is taken from Major Bagnold's article in the *Journal* of the Royal Geographical Society for August and September, 1933.

The lecturer told us how the Libyan Desert, the easternmost part of the Sahara, has remained, up to a comparatively recent date, one of the least known areas of the world. In size about six times that of the British Isles, it is mainly a featureless expanse of gravel, rock or sand, dotted with a number of oasis-depressions where the desert surface has been eroded down far enough to tap the artesian water-supplies. In the desert rain seldom falls and these springs are believed to be fed by rains which, falling on the mountains of Ennedi and Tibesti in the north-east corner of French Equatorial Africa, are conducted northwards towards the oases through the underlying sandstone strata. Some of the bigger oases of the north, as Dakhla and Kharga, support large populations. Laqiya, Selima and Bir Natrun in the south, however, are uninhabited and are little more than holes on the desert.

Ancient routes connected the oases and followed the Mediterranean coast. From north to south the desert was crossed by one caravan road, the Darb el Arba'in or Forty Days' Road, which ran from Assiut on the Nile to Kobbé, the former capital of Darfur. The countless camel skeletons along its now untraversed course are ample proof of its former importance as a trade route between Egypt and the eastern Sudan.

In the writings of the classical and mediæval geographers

we find descriptions of the oases and the coastal strip, but of the heart of the desert they knew little or nothing. In areas so conveniently blank the early cartographers drew fantastic beasts or men sheltering from the blazing sun beneath an upraised and parasol-like foot.

Apart from the pioneer camel journeys of Rohlfs, Harding-King and Hassanein, it is the use of motor transport since the War by Kemal el Din, Bagnold, Beadnell, Clayton and others, which has made possible the penetration of the heart of the desert. Experience has shown that with light cars, amongst which the Ford has pride of place, most types of country can be successfully if arduously negotiated. The exploration of the south-western part of the Libyan Desert owes something to the Senussi leaders who, having moved their headquarters from Jaghbub to Kufara Oasis in the 'nineties, sent out parties thence to explore the surrounding deserts.

In an area now so desolate the signs of man's habitation in the past are surprising. Every expedition to the Libyan Desert brings back evidence in the form of rock pictures, implements, stone circles and pottery of the former occupation of places now hundreds of miles from the nearest water. Of rock pictures the most remarkable are those at the mountain mass of Gebel 'Uweinat in the south-western corner of Egyptian territory, in some of which l'Abbé Breuil finds striking resemblances of style both to the Bushman art of South Africa and to the petroglyphs of Eastern Spain. In these and many other groups of paintings the camel is never depicted. They are thus presumably earlier than the Roman period, at which date the camel came into general use in North Africa. Some of the pictures are very much older still; Breuil considers some of those at 'Uweinat to be of Upper Palæolithic date. Palæoliths have been found over most of the Libyan Desert and it is clear that up to Middle Palæolithic times man was free to wander there at will.[1]

[1] K. S. Sandford, *Geog. Journal*, September, 1933, p. 222.

Later on, aridity set in and the dwellers on the high desert were driven in to the oases or the Nile valley. Nevertheless implements of neolithic type are found in abundance in areas now desert, and this suggests that even after the arid conditions which we now know had begun, temporary settlement may still have been possible in favoured localities.

One of the most interesting problems of the Libyan Desert is that of its sand formations. From the softer sandstones near the coast, from which they are principally derived, sand grains are constantly being driven southwards by the prevailing northerly winds. In the desert under the influence of these winds, but in a manner which is at present far from being clearly understood, the sands arrange themselves with almost uncanny regularity and symmetry into a number of remarkable formations. These are of three main types :—

(*a*) Dunes, which may occur as elongated masses of sand with a series of intermittent crests and whose axis is parallel to the direction of the prevailing wind. The individual dune-lines may be anything up to 300 feet high, half a mile wide, and some have an unbroken length of 30 or 40 miles in which the alignment will be almost perfectly maintained. The great Sand Sea along the Egypt-Libya boundary is composed of parallel dune ranges such as these. A remarkable instance is the narrow Abu Moharik dune belt which, starting near Baharia Oasis, runs for an almost continuous length of 250 miles. A second type of dune is the crescentic or *barchan*, best described as a circular dome of sand, from the leeward side of which a large bite has been taken, leaving a steep concave face pointing downwind. Barchans frequently congregate together, but the structure of the individual dune is preserved. A series of barchan dunes is often seen marching *en echelon* across flat desert; their sharply defined limits give the impression that the sand is kept continually swept up into the dune as with a broom.

(*b*) Sand-sheets.—This term has been applied to the vast expanses of flat, featureless and usually firm sand. The

largest of these is that west of Selima Oasis covering an area of some 20,000 square miles. Dr. Sandford considers that these sand-sheets represent the final stage of arid denudation.[1]

(c) The third type consists of the sand undulations which cover a large area round Lat. 18 N., Long. 25 E. They are without crests or any very definite alignment and form a billowy sea of sand mounds about 300 yards from summit to summit.

Recent Discoveries at Persepolis

On 21st September, 1933, Dr. Ernst Herzfeld gave a lecture at the rooms of the Society upon some of the recent discoveries made at Persepolis. It will be remembered that Dr. Herzfeld has been lent by the University of Berlin to the University of Chicago to act as Field Director of the Archæological Expedition to Persepolis and the neighbourhood. He told us that Persepolis, at an altitude of 5,000 feet and on the latitude of Cairo, is situated in a plain of extremely fertile soil, ringed about by mountains, watered by two rivers, and always destined to be inhabited by men as the climate is healthy. In the cliffs of the mountains there are unexplored caves, where neolithic remains form the surface deposit with perhaps more from older civilizations below. So, just as cultivable plants have their habitat in mountainous regions and were acclimatized by men in the low alluvial plains, the very earliest stages of human civilization seem to have originated in the mountains before men settled in the plains.

Not far from the Achæmenian terrace, two small mounds appear in the plain, of which one has been explored. Except for a thin stratum of mediæval Muhammedan graves, it consists of but one settlement. The decay of the houses, built merely of clay, not even of sun-dried bricks, has caused the formation of the mound. Some unknown event must have caused the sudden desertion of the village, as complete sets

[1] K. S. Sandford, op. cit., p. 217.

of household utensils were found in the rooms in their original position, just as they had been left about 6,000 years ago. But neither tombs nor human bones have been discovered.

The village is a large agglomeration of small rectangular rooms, courtyards and passages, like a vast bee-hive, with no distinct and separate houses. Apparently social and matrimonial conditions were totally different from those to which we are accustomed in Europe—very narrow and low doors, and extremely small windows or air-holes are preserved, and sometimes also the red and white paint which covered the clay-coating of the walls, and even hearths and cooking utensils, some with the remains of food in them, have survived. Instruments and implements, such as knives, saws, scrapers, etc., of stone, flint, and clay, stone amulets and buttons used as seals and their impressions on the clay stoppers of jugs, small idols (for the most part beheaded probably because they did not fulfil their promise) and ex-voto-like figurines of animals also came to light. The people were peaceful cattle-breeders and agriculturists, and, except for stone mace-heads and clay sling-stones, they owned no weapons at all.

Numerous small potters' kilns show that the main product of the village, a most artistic pottery, was made on the spot. In spite of all the varieties in shape and design, this monochrome pottery [1] is of one period and style only. Two groups (only rarely represented), i.e. a coarser ware with poor designs and a very thin ware with only linear and spare ornaments, may be neglected here. Already a superficial comparison with the pottery of Susa I, which the Persepolis pottery resembles in quality and general appearance, shows that the style of Persepolis is the predecessor and ancestor of Susa I. In the Persepolis pottery we find as dominating motives, every single detail, which in Susa I has become a secondary element in a rich and complicated ensemble. And that movement continues. In Nihawand the wealth of Susa I

[1] See "Iranische Denkmäler", by E. Herzfeld, *I.A.*, Berlin, 1932.

motives is already reduced to certain set schemes. In Persepolis we can note the complete freedom of invention and imagination, not yet limited by fixed æsthetic laws nor long tradition: in Susa I we see the same art, but shaped into fixed types, an *art savant*; while in Nihawand there is already a reduction to relative poverty. At Susa, three strata of different character separate style I from style II, and in Sumer there occurs a similar difference between al-Ubaid, which corresponds to Susa I, and Jamdat Nasr. Those three stages, all previous to history which begins with documents intelligible to us about 3100 B.C., may easily cover the whole fourth millennium and place Persepolis at the end of the fifth millennium B.C.

The authorization granted by the Persian Government to the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago includes all antique sites in a radius of 10 km. around Persepolis. So far no copper- or bronze-age sites have been explored, but as there is a number of such mounds, we hope to find remains of those intermediary periods. Near the Royal Tombs at Naqsh-i-Rustam, under a Sasanian relief representing Bahram II, were found the remains of an Elamite rock sculpture, showing several worshippers before two gods enthroned on snakes. It is similar to the rock sculpture of Kurangun (in the direction of Susa), and certainly not later than the middle of the second millennium B.C. It may be taken as a document of Elamite rule over Marwdasht, the plain of Persepolis.

Persepolis is a Greek name, not used before Alexander the Great. The name ought to be Persopolis, and it may be that Persepolis alludes to the *persis*, the destruction of the town by Alexander. The old Persian name in one of the inscriptions is simply Pārsa, the name of people, land, and capital being the same.

An isolated rock, separated from the hills in the background by a narrow valley, suggested to the architects of Darius the idea of creating the huge terrace. The rock was

levelled into different terraces, the valley filled up with the debris, the entire area surrounded by a huge fortification-wall of sun-dried bricks on a base of colossal stones 18 metres high, which climbs up the hill at the back of the terrace to a height of about 100 metres. The existence of an elaborate drainage system, following the plan of the main buildings (but made before their construction), proves that from the beginning a plan existed according to which the whole work was executed.

The history of Persepolis was partly known from its inscriptions which had already been investigated a century ago. The excavations have added a large number of new ones. The most sensational are those on two pairs of gold and silver tablets, 33 cm. square, which prove to be the foundation documents of the great Apadana of Darius. The inscription is identical with one discovered 10 years ago at Hamadan, on a pair of gold and silver tablets only a quarter of that size. These were purchased by the Persian Government for the Museum to be founded in Teheran. Other foundation inscriptions on stone from the Harem of Xerxes and the Hall of Hundred Columns (Artaxerxes I) are richer in historic facts. Inscriptions on enamelled bricks from a frieze on the top of the walls of the great Apadana of Darius, but inscribed with the name of Xerxes, could be reconstructed out of some hundred fragments. According to those inscriptions, the building of Persepolis had been begun between 518 and 515 B.C., more probably in 518 B.C. Under Darius' reign the terrace, the small palace of Darius, and the great Apadana were nearly finished, probably the main gateway and part of the walls also. Of the harem there seems to have been executed only the foundation. Xerxes began the Hall of Hundred Columns, completed the buildings left unfinished under Darius, including his own small palace, the *hadish*, and changed the harem completely. The Hall of Hundred Columns was finally completed under Artaxerxes I. That means a period of at least 60 years for the entire work. Some slight later changes

are of no importance. Persepolis was never completely finished.

Our expedition has reconstructed, with as few alterations as possible, one half of the Harem of Xerxes, and is using the palace of Queen Amnestris for our work. All the parts made of stone were preserved: the plan was complete, the heights being given by the doors and the huge monoliths that form the *ante's* of the portico. Only wood and sun-dried bricks had to be replaced. The wood columns and door wings were modelled after those in the rock-cut royal tombs. The reconstruction was rather an experiment from the æsthetic point of view, but proved fairly successful. It teaches something, which could not be appreciated before: the effect of the old sculptures in their original form, the covered rooms, etc., and it becomes evident how entirely this sculpture is dominated by architectural ideas.

It was not certain whether excavations would reveal much at a place where so much was still standing above the ground. As a matter of fact the earth into which the colossal brick walls of the buildings have dissolved, covers the original soil to a much greater height than one could possibly have imagined, at some places to a height of 8 metres. It is also a peculiarity of the limestone impregnated with bituminous matter, which is used for the sculptures, to suffer from heat and frost, but not to deteriorate at all when protected by the humidity in the earth. The sculptures appear with a surface as intact as if they had been made but yesterday, and our discoveries, both in extent and beauty, have entirely changed the appearance of Persepolis. As usual, it is the staircases that are profusely decorated. We were so happy as to uncover a vast *cour d'honneur* from which one staircase, 90 metres in width, leads up to the great Apadana of Darius, and a smaller one to a monumental entrance of the highest level of the terrace with the small palaces of Darius and Xerxes.

This smaller staircase shows hundreds of Persian, Median,

and Susian high officials and guards, in various postures, under arms, or waiting and conversing with each other, which remind us of the description in Pseudo-Aristoteles' *De Mundo* of the Achæmenian palaces of Agbatana.

The great staircase of the Apadana represents the Festival of the New Year: to the right the regiments of the Guards, the Horse Guards, the king's chariot and other figures, awaiting the arrival, on the left wing, of the long procession of twenty-three different nations of the empire, offering their gifts or annual tribute to the great king. The enormous picture, arranged in three bands, of which the development would exceed 400 metres in length, is like an ethnographic museum full of most fascinating details, and is a study in itself. By comparison with thirty figures on the tombs of Darius and Artaxerxes II or III, above which their names are written, almost all the twenty-three nations of the tribute procession can be identified. It is, therefore, both as a historical and geographical document most important for our knowledge of the extent and essence of the Achæmenian empire, and, considered as a work of art, a monument, without which a proper understanding of Achæmenian culture cannot be appreciated. These sculptures are almost contemporary with the Parthenon friezes, yet they belong to another world. Achæmenian art is the very last and most glorious stage of the art of the Ancient East of which it is the absolute end. In spite of all its beauty and perfection it was doomed to perish.

Among the small finds, not belonging to architecture and sculpture, is to be mentioned the discovery of two little archive chambers in the fortification wall: not apparently the archives of the State, but either military or judicial records. There are about 10,000 intact pieces, 10,000 more or less complete ones, and probably more than 10,000 fragments. The shapes vary greatly, from the largest ever known to the smallest. They are mostly in Elamite cuneiform, and will require years of labour and study to be deciphered.

Among them are about 500 small pieces with Aramaic writing in ink. As an exception there was found one piece—perhaps there are more—in Phrygian letters and language.

At the foot of the royal terrace, where the stones of a large window with the figures of a post-Achæmenian king and his queen were lying on the ground, a vast fire-temple has been excavated, with a number of Greek dedicatory inscriptions, probably of fire altars. In those inscriptions occur the oldest identifications of Zoroastrian deities with Greek gods. The date is, according to the type of the script, style of sculptures and some coins found in the ruins, very shortly after the time of Alexander.

Probably Persepolis was merely a royal residence at all times, and the remains of monumental buildings in the plain below the terrace look more like annexes of the palaces than a town. The proper town appears to have been Istakhr, at a distance of about three miles. There some trial trenches have been made, with results so promising that the work will be continued. So far, the existence of three periods, early Muhammedan, Sasanian (or Parthian) and Achæmenian, has been established. Older periods are expected. Among the finds are architectural remains which show a hitherto unknown mixture of purely Achæmenian and purely Greek styles. They probably belong to the period immediately after the conquest, and show how the new ideas that invaded Persia at that time were adopted and implanted on traditional forms without any deeper understanding or real amalgamation. It is not unlike what is happening to-day. It is a style, interesting from the archæological, and more so from the psychological, point of view, but one that had no hope of endurance.

Old Persian art, as the last stage of Ancient Eastern art, died in the flames of Persepolis, in the fire raised by Alexander the Great.

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(*Remainder of List cannot be printed owing to lack of space. It is hoped to include them in the next number.*)

TRANSLITERATION

OF THE

SANSKRIT, ARABIC

AND ALLIED ALPHABETS

THE system of Transliteration shown in the Tables given within is based on that approved by the International ORIENTAL CONGRESS of 1894. A few optional forms have been added so as to adapt it to the requirements of English and Indian scholars. The Council earnestly recommends its general adoption (as far as possible), in this country and in India, by those engaged in Oriental Studies.

SANSKRIT AND ALLIED ALPHABETS

अ	*a*
आ	*ā*
इ	*i*
ई	*ī*
उ	*u*
ऊ	*ū*
ऋ	*ṛ* or *r̥*
ॠ	*ṝ* or *r̥̄*
ऌ	*ḷ* or *l̥*
ॡ	*ḹ* or *l̥̄*
ए	*e* or *ē*
ऐ	*ai*
ओ	*o* or *ō*
औ	*au*
क	*ka*
ख	*kha*
ग	*ga*
घ	*gha*
ङ	*ṅa*
च	*ca* or *c̲ha* [1]
छ	*cha* or *c̲h̲ha* [1]
ज	*ja*
झ	*jha*
ञ	*ña*
ट	*ṭa*
ठ	*ṭha*
ड	*ḍa*
ढ	*ḍha*
ण	*ṇa*
त	*ta*
थ	*tha*
द	*da*

[1] In modern Indian languages only.

ध	*dha*
न	*na*
प	*pa*
फ	*pha*
ब	*ba*
भ	*bha*
म	*ma*
य	*ya*
र	*ra*
ल	*la*
व	*va*
श	*śa*
ष	*ṣa*
स	*sa*
ह	*ha*
ळ	*ḷa* or *ḻa*
ं (*Anusvāra*) .	*ṁ* } or ˜
ँ (*Anunāsika*) .	*m̐* }
: (*visarga*) . .	*ḥ*
× (*jihvāmūlīya*) .	*ẖ*
ᳵ (*upadhmānīya*)	*ḫ*
ऽ (*avagraha*) .	’
Udātta . .	ˊ
Svarita . .	ˆ
Anudātta . .	ˋ

ADDITIONAL FOR MODERN VERNACULARS

ड़	*ṛa*
ढ़	*ṛha*

Where, as happens in some modern languages, the inherent *a* of a consonant is not sounded, it need not be written in transliteration. Thus Hindī करता *kartā* (not *karatā*), making; कल *kal* (not *kala*), to-morrow.

The sign ˜, a tilde, has long been used by scholars to represent *anunāsika* and *anusvāra* and *nūn-i-ghunna*—when these stand for nasal vowels—in Prakrit and in the modern vernaculars: thus अँ *ã*, आँ *ā̃*, and so on. It is therefore permitted as an optional use in these circumstances.

ARABIC AND ALLIED ALPHABETS

ا at beginning of word omit; hamza elsewhere ʼ or alternatively, hamza may be represented by ◌َ or ◌ِ

ب	*b*	ط	*ṭ* or *ṭ*[1]
ت	*t*	ظ	*ẓ* or *ẓ*[1]
ث	*ṯ* or *th*	ع	ʻ
ج	*j* or *dj*[1]	غ	*ġ* or *gh*
ح	*ḥ*	ف	*f*
خ	*ḫ* or *kh*	ق	*q*
د	*d*	ک	*k*
ذ	*ḏ* or *dh*	ل	*l*
ر	*r*	م	*m*
ز	*z*	ن	*n*
س	*s*	و	*w* or *v*
ش	*š* or *sh*	ه	*h*
ص	*ṣ*	ة	*t* or *ḥ*
ض	*ḍ*	ي	*y*

vowels َ *a*, ِ *i*, ُ *u*

lengthened اَ *ā*, يِ *ī*, وُ *ū*

also *ē* and *ō* in Indian dialects, *ü* and *ö* in Turkish

Alif maqṣūrah may be represented by *ā*

diphthongs يَ *ay* and وَ *aw*, or يَ *ai* and وَ *au* respectively

Also in India, in transliterating Indian dialects, and for Persian, will be recognized *ṡ* for ث, *ẓ* for ذ, and *ẓ* for ض

waṣla ʼ

[1] Although allowed by the Geneva system, the use of *dj* for ج in England or India is not recommended; nor for modern Indian languages should ط be transliterated by *ṭ* or ظ by *ẓ*, as these signs are there employed for other purposes.

A final silent *h* need not be transliterated,—thus بنده *banda* (not *bandah*). When pronounced, it should be written,—thus گناه *gunāh*.

ADDITIONAL LETTERS

Persian, Hindī, Urdū, and Paṣhtō.

پ	*p*
چ	*ç*, *c*, or *ch*
ژ	*ẓ* or *zh*
گ	*g*

Turkish letters.

ک	when pronounced as *y*, *ḳ* is permitted
ڭ	*ñ*

Hindī, Urdū, and Paṣhtō.

ٹ or ټ	*ṭ*
ڈ or ډ	*ḍ*
ڑ or ړ	*ṛ*

ں (*nūn-i-ghunna*) ˜ as in the case of the Nāgarī *anunāsika*

Paṣhtō letters.

څ	*ṡ*, *ż*, *ṯs* or *dz*
ږ	*ẓh* or *g* (according to dialect)
ڼ	*ṇ*
ښ	*ṣh* or *kh* (according to dialect)

HEBREW

א	ا = ʼ	ד	د = *d*
בּ	ب = *b*	ד	ذ = *ḏ*
ב	= *ḇ*	ה	ه = *h*
גּ	ج = ʻ*g* or *j*	ו	و = *w*
ג	= *g̱*	ז	ز = *z*

ח	ح	= *ḥ*
	خ	= *ḫ*
ט	ط	= *ṭ*
	ظ	= *ẓ*
י	ى	= *y*
כּ	ك	= *k*
כ		= *ḵ*
ל	ل	= *l*
מ	م	= *m*
נ	ن	= *n*
ס	س	= *s*
ע	ع	= ʻ
	غ	= *ġ* (or *ṛ*)
פּ		= *p*
פ	ف	= *f*
צ	ص	= *ṣ*
	ض	= *ḍ*
ק	ق	= *ḳ* or *q*
ר	ر	= *r*
שׁ	ش	= *š*
שׂ		= *ś*
תּ	ت	= *t*
ת	ث	= *ṯ*

CHINESE AND JAPANESE

For Chinese the use of the Wade system is requested, and for Japanese that of the Rōmaji-kwai (Romanization Society).

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APRIL, 1934

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BY F. W. THOMAS

1. OFFICIALS.

1. M.I. viii, 90 (wood, c. 16 × 1·5–2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; l. 1 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

❧ | : | rtse.rje.blon.gyi.mchan.ka[b].du.bsk[o]spa |

"Appointed to the note (*mchan*)-office of the head chief (*rtse-rje*), the Councillor."

Does *mchan-k[h]ab* mean "note (*or* account) office", secretariat? Cf. what is said *infra*, p. 255, concerning the *tshaṅ-blon*.

2. M.I. xl, 15 (wood, c. 11 × 1·5–2 cm., complete, slightly curved; hole for string at r.; l. 1 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

❧ | blon.Mdo.bzaṅ.sa. | blon.po.gchig |

"Residence (*sa*) of Councillor Mdo-bzaṅ: a Councillor."

On *sa* see 1927, p. 558.

3. M.I. xiv, 0017 (wood, c. 16 × 2 cm., complete, rather curved; hole for string at r.; l. 1 of cursive *dbu-can* script, faint).

❧ | : | rtse.rje.daṅ.dgra.blon.la.g[th]ad.paḫ ||

"Consigned to the head chief and War-councillor (*dgra-blon*)."

4. M.I. vii, 9 (wood, c. 9–9·5 × 1·5–2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[1] ❦ || ru.ña.chuṅ | [2] dgra.blon

"Minor *ru-ña*: War-councillor (*dgra-blon*)."

On *ru-ña-chuṅ* see *supra*, 1933, p. 542. A *dgra-blon* is mentioned further in M.I. xiv, 0011; xv, 0024; M.T. b. i, 0099.

5. M.I. iv, 38 and 39 (wood, two pieces, upper and lower, together c. 9 × 2 cm.; ll. 2 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[1] ❦ || Dgra.dog.Rji.rma.staṅ || [C]u.d[e ?] . . . [2] phyi.blon.du.bskos.

"*Dgra-dog* (?) Rji-rma-staṅ: Cu-de . . . appointed Exterior-Councillor (*phyi-blon*)."

Possibly the sense is "in place of (*staṅ*) Rji-rma"; but *staṅ* is elsewhere a complimentary affix. "Exterior-Councillor" means, no doubt, "Councillor for affairs abroad". The phrase *phyi-blon-du-bskos* recurs in M.I. iv, 42*b*.

Since the *phyi-blon* occurs in the Lha-sa inscriptions (*JRAS*., 1911, pp. 133–5), while the *dgra-blon* does not, it is possible that the two designations are equivalent.

6. M.I. xxiv, 0030 (paper, fol. No. 64 in vol., c. 14 × 5 cm., torn away at r. and bottom; discoloured and stained; ll. 5 (+ some vowels of a sixth) of neat cursive *dbu-can* script).

[1] ❦ || żaṅ.lon.żal.ce.pa.[blon.]Stag.b[ż]re . . .

"Uncle-Councillor, Justicer, Councillor Stag-bżer."

In the Lha-sa inscriptions (ibid., p. 135) is mentioned a *rgyal-zigs-chen-po-żal-ce-don-la* "Great King's Eye for the purpose of justice", which renders probable the view expressed *supra* (p. 100) that the *rgyal-gzigs*, mentioned 1928, pp. 574–5, and recurring in M.I. iii, 2 (a proper name here ?), xiv, 58*a*, 61*c*, discharged legal functions. The *khrim-bon* (*khrims-dpon*) mentioned in 1928, p. 560, would be a local judge of lower rank. It would seem that the term *bkaḥ-luṅ* "command" (1927, pp. 72–3) was also used personally (1928, p. 582) in the sense of "judge".

7. M.I. viii, 2 (wood, c. 22 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.: ll. 3 *recto* + 2 *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A 1] ❦ || myi.thogs.par.brdzaṅ.ba.daṅ | Be.ce.Stag. legs.daṅ.Dol.po.Rma.[st]on.žaṅ.lon.chen.po.blon.Klu [A 2] sgra[hi].lus.kyi.rim.gro.la.rab.tu.rin[s.st]e || Ḥbrog. yul.gaṅ.na.mchis.[p]a.ga.tsas (*sic*),daṅ.sbyor.la [A 3] gdug. mtshan.stod.la.gcig.nas.gcig.du.gžen.thob.la.rdzoṅs.śig. ces || žaṅ.lon [B 1] chen.po.Kh[r]i.dog.rje.daṅ | blon.Rgyal. gtsug.sgraḥi.spriṅ.ba [1].las.ḥbyuṅ.bas || ḥdi.bžin.mjald [2] [B 2] rgya.bzuṅ.gžen.btab.nas || brdzaṅ.bar.mdzad.cig ||

"To be sent without delay: in accordance with a message from Great Uncle-Councillor [*žaṅ-lon-chen-po*] Khri-dog-rje and Councillor Rgyal-gtsug-sgra to this effect: 'To Be-ce Stag-legs and Dol-po Rma-ston [and] Great Uncle-Councillor, Councillor Klu-sgra, of very long descent, wherever in the Ḥbrog country they are and with whatever matter occupied, by day and by night send up with admonition from one [man] to another,' accordingly on receipt of the delivered despatch arrange to send with admonition."

Be-ce and *Dol-po* are both, no doubt, local names: on the former see *supra*, on the latter the dictionaries. The Ḥbrog, nomads, are well known. It may be suspected that the persons mentioned are not mere local Tibetans of the Mīrān region, but belonged to the Central Government. Councillor Khri-dog-rje is mentioned also in M.I. iv, 37*b*. The "admonition" is to the successive couriers.

In l. A 3 the two imperatives separated by *la* (*gžen-thob-la-rdzoṅs-śig*) exhibit the regular idiom with *la*. On *gžen*(*n*)-*thob* see S. C. Das' dictionary s.v. *gžen*; on *las-ḥbyuṅ-bas*, see *supra*, 1927, pp. 79, 826.

8. M.I. xxvii, 7 (wood, c. 14·5 × 2 cm.; defective at top l.; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[1] ❦ . . . ṅuḥi.dgra.blon.daṅ.ṅos.pon.bži.la | [2] mjal. par.bsgo.ba |

"To be ordered to meet the War-Councillor and the four

[1] *ba* below line. [2] *d* below line.

Regional-Officials (*ṅos-pon*) of [Little Nob]" (*or* "To the War-Councillor . . . : summons to meet").

The *ṅos-dpon* seems to correspond to the *anta-pāla* of Sanskrit. He is mentioned further in xiv, 0011, 0012, and xiv, 7.

9. M.I. xiv, 7 (wood, c. 10 × 2 cm., complete ; hole for string at r. ; ll. 2 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[1] ❦ || ṅos . bži . ṅos . pon . rnams . la[. . . .] [2] gan [1] . re . re |

"To the Regional-Officials of the four regions a carpet (*gan*, erroneous for *gdan* ?) each."

On *gdan* see *infra*, pp. 467–8.

10. M.I. x, 5 (wood, c. 13 × 2 cm., complete ; hole for string at r. ; l. 1 of cursive *dbu-can* script, partly erased).

. . . [c]aṅ . khyir . ḥtshol . cig

". . . the *caṅ-khyir* should require."

On *caṅ-khyir* see *supra*, 1927, p. 75 n., 79 ; 1933, p. 550 ; since in the first of these occurrences he is a kind of *stoṅ-dpon*, he is, no doubt, of the same order. On his equivalence to *nāgaraka*, *nagara-rakṣa* see *supra*, p. 97.

11. M.I. xiv, 3 (wood, c. 9·5 × 2 cm., complete ; hole for string at r. ; l. 1 of square *dbu-can* script).

❦ : tshar . dpon | Paṅ : kuḥ : tshan . |

"Paṅ-kuḥ, head of a parish (*tshar*)."

On *tshar* see *supra*, 1930, pp. 50 sqq. The person is probably not a Tibetan, but a native, as is perhaps implied in the use of the honorific plural *tshan* (ibid., p. 72).

12. M.T., c. iii, 0074 (wood, c. 13·5 × 1 cm., a slice, broken away at l. and r. ; l. 1 of neat, squarish *dbu-can* script).

❦ | : [*B*]de . gams . gyi . ḥdun . tsa . nas . . .

"From the Assemblage of Bde-gams . . ."

In connection with Bde-gams a *ḥdun-sa(tsa)* "general assemblage", has been mentioned in 1927, pp. 825–6. The general term for a council consultation, *bkaḥ-ḥgros*, occurs ibid., and also pp. 821, 824, and 1928, p. 566. Bde-gams was in Tibet : the *ḥdun-sa*'s in Gtsos-mo-gliṅ (1928, p. 574) and Byeḥu-liṅ (ibid., p. 591) and Śel-than (1930, p. 71) were

[1] *glan ?*

perhaps all local conferences in Turkestan. As regards the spelling, it is possible that, whereas *ḥdun-sa* means the place of assembly, *ḥdun-tsa* = *ḥdun-ma*, the assembly itself. Sometimes (e.g., M.T. à. ii, 0076) the leading *dpons* are grouped together in such phrases as *so-soḥi-stoṅ-sdeḥi-dpon-sna* "the leading officials of the several Thousand-districts".

13. Ch. 86, ii (paper, on *verso* of fol. No. 48 of volume liii, c. 27·5 × 24 cm.: ll. 9 of good, cursive *dbu-can* script + ll. 3 (a different hand) inverted).

[1] ❧ || chen.po.dguṅ.daṅ.ḥdra.paḥi.ża.sṅa.nas.thugs. bde.ḥam.myi [2] bde.mchid.yi.ge.las.sñun.gsol.żiṅ.mchis. na.bkaḥ.stsal.bar.ji.gnaṅ || [3] spyan.żigs.daṅ | skyes.kyi. mtsan.mar.ḥbras.khal.phyed.daṅ | Rgya.ras.yug.gchig. daṅ.ḥdi | [4] gñis. | [1] Raṅ.ke.Klu.goṅ.lsa [2].gsol.żiṅ.mchis. na.bżes.par.gslo [3].żiṅ.mchis || [5] bdag.chag.ṅan.pa.mchis. pas.rṅo.thog.pa.ma.mchis.par.ḥdi.skad.sñan.sñuṅs.pa | [6] gsol.żes.bkaḥ.ḥbab.tu.ḥaṅ.ruṅ.na | rje.blas.gyi.kha. tsham.żig.legs.pa.na | [7] bzuṅ.bar.gslo.żiṅ.mchis ||

[8] ❧ || naṅ.rje.po.blon.Mdo.brtsan.daṅ | blon.Mdo. bzaṅ.daṅ | [9] blon.Khri.ḥjam.la || [10] Żaṅ.zigs.gyi.mchid. gsol.ba | [*Inverted*] [1] ❧ || Rog.tom.kyi.thar.kar.nas. bkyeḥi.phyag.rgya.phogste | Śa.chuḥi.rtse.rje.daṅ [2] Rgya.sde.gñis.kyi.dpon.sna.la.spriṅ.ṅo. || ḥdir.ṅo. phral (phul ?).Bde.Śaṅ | [3] śun.gyis.gsol.na

"[I am] submitting a written inquiry as to health, whether on the part of the Great Ones, equal to heaven, there exists happiness of mind or non-happiness: to send a word would be a favour. As a visitor's gift (*spyan-[g]zigs*) and with the title of a present (*skyes-kyi-mts[h]an-ma*) I am sending a half-load of fruit (*or* rice, *ḥbras*) and one roll of Chinese cotton, these two. I am asking them from Raṅ-ke Klu-goṅ, and I beg you to accept them. That your humble servant, being ineffective, should thus [merely] send inquiry as to health deserves indeed a reprimand: I beg His Excellency (*rje-blas*) kindly (*legs-pa-na*) for a while (*tsam-żig*)

[1] *re* here crossed out. [2] Compendious for *las*. [3] = *gsol*.

to forbear (*kha-bzuṅ-bar*) (*or* I beg you kindly to secure H.E.'s forbearance . . .?).

"To Interior Councillor Mdo-brtsan and Councillor Mdo-bzaṅ and Councillor Khri-ḫjam : letter-petition of Žaṅ-zigs.

"[*Inverted*] Despatched from Thar-kar in Rog-tom with signature attached : addressed to the Chief-in-command (*rtse-rje*) of Śa-cu and the leading officials (*dpon-sna*) of the two Chinese districts (*sde*). Here on the present date (*ño-phral*) Bde Śaṅ-śun submits [it]."

Copy of a letter sent to Śa-cu from Thar-kar in Rog-tom, both unknown ; Thar-kar is perhaps not a proper name, and Rog-tom may mean the "Rog Thousand[-district]". The two [*Stoṅ-*]*dpons* of the two Chinese [*Stoṅ-*]*sde*'s may belong to two of the districts noted *supra* (p. 94). In the last sentence Bde Śaṅ-śun, if it is really a proper name, means Śaṅ-śun of Bde (a province of Mdo-smad), on which see *supra* (p. 97). The person Klu-goṅ has a name resembling that of the Tibetan minister Klu-khoṅ, celebrated in a Lha-sa Edict edited and translated by Col. Waddell (*JRAS.*, 1910, pp. 1255 sqq.) : the surname *Raṅ-ke* seems to be unknown : but cf. *Śud-ke* and *Hel-ke*. The endorsement may have been added on the original in the course of a transmission through the Bde centre, which would be a geographically interesting circumstance. It will be noted that here the *rje-blas* (with *s* in the nominative as elsewhere, e.g. 1927, pp. 72–4) is perhaps, but not necessarily, the *naṅ-rje-po* of Śa-cu.

The letter is an instance of the actually avowed (p. 500) principle of sending a polite letter (*sñan-sñuṅs*) to "mark time", when there is nothing definite to report.

Spyan-zigs (= Sk. *upāyana* "a visitor's gift", 1930, pp. 88, etc.) and *bkaḫ-ḫbab*, "reprimand" (1930, p. 278), have occurred previously.

The above citations illustrate the use of the expressions :—
rje-bla[*s*], "Excellency."
rtse-rje, "chief in command" (°*chu-ñu*, "minor chief").
žaṅ-lon (*chen-po*), "Uncle(noble)-Councillor."

blon, "Councillor"; *nan-rje*[*-po*] or *nan-blon* (1927, p. 59), "Interior-Councillor"; *phyi-blon* or *dgra-blon*, "Exterior, or War-Councillor."

rgyal-gzigs or *žal-che*[*-pa*], *bkaḥ-lun*, also *spyan-ched-po*, "King's Eye", "Justicer", "Great Eye".

dpon, "official"; *ston-dpon* (Sk. *sahasra-pati*), also *ston-sde*, "Thousand-[district]-commander"; *nos-dpon*, "regional commander"; *khrims-dpon*, "judge," or *bkaḥ-lun*; *khral-dpon* (M.I. lviii, 006), "tax-master"; *tshar-dpon*, "parish-head"; *can-khyir*, *chan-kyur*, "city mayor," ordinarily a *ston-dpon*.

To these we may add *stom-gyan* (1928, p. 563), probably only the old local name (*tomga* of the Kharoṣṭhī) of the *ston-dpon*; *jo-co* (*rjo-cho*, etc., 1927, p. 67; 1928, pp. 566, 585; 1930, pp. 73, 272, 292), a similar equivalent of *rtse-rje*; *yul-mthon* (1928, p. 585 and M.T., 0544) or *yul-gzigs* (1930, p. 73, and M.I. iii, 0068) the local surveyor or overseer.

The *žan*, *žan-po*, *žan-chen-po* is, as we have seen (*supra*, p. 99, n.) the "Uncle" or noble, and the *man-po-rje* (1927, p. 57) the feudal prince or tribal head.

The state officials of Tibet, as cited in the Lha-sa inscriptions (*JRAS.*, 1911, pp. 433–5) include the *blon-po-chen-po*, *nan-blon*, *phyi-blon*, *blon-phyi-pa*, *mnan-*[*d*]*pon*, *bkaḥi-phrin-blon-chen-kablon* ("correspondence councillor"), *rtsis-pa-chen-po* ("census, or finance, minister") and the *rgyal-*[*g*]*zigs-chen-po-žal-ce-don-la* ("minister of justice, or law"). To the *rtsis-pa* might correspond the local *tshan-lon* (1927, p. 67) of the Śa-cu state.

The general term for "government" is *mnan*, to which belong the above *mnan-blon* and the expression *mnan-gyi-ḥbans*, "government subject or convict." We have reference to the *Bod-kyi-mnan*, "Tibetan authorities" (M. Tāgh. b. ii, 0066), and to the *Li-mnan* "Khotan authorities". *Chab-srid* is the authority of an official, but especially of the king, who is said (1927, p. 56) to proceed to the Ḥa-ža country "to take over the government": metonymously the phrase

may mean a "state", even geographically. *Mṅaḥ-ris*, "authority-line" (boundary; cf. *yul-ris*, "local boundary," *mkhar-ris*, "city boundary"), naturally means "frontier" between states, provinces, etc. (cf. 1928, p. 557; 1930, p. 255); but this also comes to mean "state" or "province", as in *Mṅaḥ-ris Ḫkhor-gsum* (*vulgo*, Nari Khorsum), and even the property or possession of a person or community.

2. Classes and Persons (also Dwellings)

14. M.I. xiv, 0011 (wood, c. 21 × 2–2·5 cm., broken away at lower l.; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 *recto* + 2 *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script, in part faint and smudged).

[A 1] ❁ || daḥ.ltar.dgraḥ.blon.daṅ.žiṅ.pon.-o . . bla. [stsisna].do.chig.[sky—].[skya(sla ?)].sa.ḥdi [A 2] . . . [tsha]lma.bskos.paḥ.las.khoṅ.[skyaḥi?]. myi.gsold.paḥi[1]. sg—. [B 1] . . . raṅ.khri.sṅar.yaṅ.žiṅ.pon.daṅ.dgraḥ.blon. ḥtshal.ḥtshal[d].[to ? ?] [B2] [s]ug.lasu.bgyi.[baḥi ?].ñam. drod.kyaṅ.mtshal (mchis ?) | [rṅo ?].yaṅ.thog | dra.gu . . .

"The present War-councillor and the landlords have already calculated. . . . After the assignment of rations . . . this land *for* the present harvest, the harvestmen petitioned . . . 'Previously, whenever the landlords and War-councillor have required, *we* made no trouble about being set to work. Also *we* are competent . . .'"

The defectiveness of the text occasions a partly conjectural rendering.

The *žiṅ-pon* (1928, p. 576; cf. *žiṅ-bdag*, *infra*, p. 266) is the landlord, in contrast to the *žiṅ-pa*, or cultivator, who is here a *skyaḥi-myi*, "harvester." On *ñam[s]-drod*, "trouble," see 1927, p. 82; on *tshal-ma* (1927, p. 839, etc.) and *bskos* see *supra*, 1933, pp. 386–7.

. . . *raṅ-khri* is not clear. For *mtshal* read *ma-ḥtshal?* The interposition of the "Foreign War-councillor" is, no doubt, due to the fact that to the Tibetans Shan-shan was conquered country and the population "enemy" or foreign.

[1] *paḥo ?*

15. M. Tāgh. a. vi, 0047 (wood, c. 11·5 × 1 cm., cut to a point at l., cut away at r.; l. 1 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

. . . m.żes || stsaṅ.ḥdren.Ḥa.ża

". . . grain-conveyor the Ḥa-ża . . ."

The business of conveying grain (*stsaṅ-ḥdren*) is several times referred to; see 1930, p. 89, and M.I. xiv, 119. It must have occupied many persons.

16. M.I. ix, 1 (wood, c. 9 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; l. 1 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

༄ || z[o]ṅ.K[lu].ḥtus |

"Merchant (*zoṅ*) Klu-ḥdus."

The same person is mentioned in vii, 89*b* (༄ | : | zoṅ. [Klu] . . .).

17. M.I. xiv, 0054 (wood, c. 10·5 × 1·5 cm., cut away to a point at l.; hole for string at r.; ll. 1 *recto* + 1 (a different hand) *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A] ༄ | . | Bya[1] . nad . rmaṅ . rog . ba (rogs ?) [B] myi . gñis |

"Bya-nad, horse(camel ?)-attendant. Two persons."

On *rmaṅ-rogs* (cf. *rta-rogs*) see 1930, pp. 73, 290.

18. M.I. xiv, 50 (wood, c. 8·5 × 2·5 cm., slightly broken away at l. lower corner; l. 1 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

༄ || Bag.Mdo.stoṅ |

"*Bag* Mdo-stoṅ."

The sense of *Bag* is unknown. It is probably a clan or family name; see *infra*, p. 259.

19. M.I. xiv, 15 (wood, c. 9 × 1·5 cm., broken away at r., lower corner; l. 1 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

༄ || sa.stoṅ.Śaṅ.sme |

Sa-stoṅ recurs as a title in M.I. xiv, 124; xxvi, 2; and M. Tāgh. 0380; the dictionary gives the meaning "desert", and so it might mean "desert man"; but possibly it is for *sa-ston* in the sense of "guide" (*sa-mkhan*, *infra*, p. 466).

20. M. Tāgh. a. vi, 0015 (wood, c. 13 × 1·5–2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; l. 1 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[1] *d* here crossed out. Is Bya-na a place-name?

❦ | . | yul . tsan . | gcig |

"A local magnate (or a business man)."

A document belonging to the Munich Ethnographical Museum (FK 1023) mentions a *yul-[d]pon* "local lord" or "local authority". This is perhaps a caller's "card".

21. M. Tāgh. b. i, 0010 (wood, c. 12 × 2·5 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 1 of cursive *dbu-can* script + 1 consisting of two quasi-circles).

[1] ❦ || gu . rib . Snaṅ . la . rgyug || [2] o o

"Slave Snaṅ.la.rgyug."

The meaning "slave" is conjectural: see *supra*, 1930, p. 258. The word is not infrequent. The circles perhaps indicate chastisement, as in 1930, p. 49.

22. M.I. xiv, 45 (wood, c. 8·5 × 2·5 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[1] ❦ || žaṅ . lon . daṅ . yul . myi . las [2] gdan . g-yar . por . bsdu . baḥ |

"Carpet to be collected on loan from the Uncle-Councillor and people of the district."

23. M.I. iv, 17 (wood, c. 23 × 1·5–2 cm., complete; ll. 2 *recto* + 1 *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A 1] ❦ | : | ze . daḥi . luṅ . riṅ . du . kha . bstan . pa | Khyi . cuṅ . la . khre . do | Kyad . nag . la . bre . gaṅ | [A 2] yaṅ . Khyi . chuṅ . bre . gaṅ | dge . bsñen . la . bre . phye [1] . daṅ . gsum | Ḥphan . legs . la . bre . phye . da[ṅ] [B]do | Roṅ . po . ban . de . la . bre . gaṅ . | Sog . po . la . bre . lṅa |

"Promised . . . as price of a sheep: To Khyi-cuṅ millet, two; to Kyad-nag a full *bre*: again to Khyi-cuṅ a full *bre*; to the lay-worshipper (*upāsaka*) three *bre* less one-half; to Ḥphan-legs two *bre* less one-half; to monk (*ban-de*) Roṅ-po a full *bre*; to Sog-po five *bre*."

The meaning of *ze-da* is not apparent: is it = *zed* "damaged". *Roṅ-po* and *Sog-po* are probably both tribal or national names. In consideration of the Sogdian colony of the seventh century A.D. (Pelliot in *Journal Asiatique*,

[1] = *phyed*.

xi, vii (1916), pp. 111 sqq.), it is possible that *Sog*, which recurs in the documents, denotes a Sogdian (in later times a Mongol).

24. M.I. xxxiii, 1 (wood, c. 5½ × 1 cm., broken away at l.; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 *recto* + 3 *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A 1] . . . gnas . gtsug . lag . khaṅ [1] . gi . rkyen . sa . sṅon . | pye [2] . daṅ . bcu . gsum [A 2] . | na . n[iṅ] . slad [3] . kyis . khrug . pa . dag . gis . bstsald . nas . | ḫba[bs] [B 1] . . *dge* . ḫdun . [rkye]n . paḫi . ḫtsho . ba . khab . sos . ma . ḫbyor . par . gyur . [nas] [B 2] *bdag* . chag . drug . rkyen . d[r]u[ṅ] . [m]chis . nas | sku . yon . ḫtshal [B 3] . . . [l] . da . ltar . Lha . ris . gyi . dpon . snaḫ (snas ?) . | Lha . ris . gyis . dge . ḫdu[n]

"The lands belonging to *this* monastery were formerly thirteen less one-half. Last year, owing to disturbances through quarrels (*rtsad-kyis ?*), the rent (*ḫbabs*) . . . the livelihood of those belonging to the Saṃgha was not supplied by the householders (?). We six residents (*rkyen-druṅ*) require a benefactor (*sku-yon*). At present the chief officials (*dpon-sna*) of Lha-ris . . . the Saṃgha of Lha-ris. . . . ?

On *rkyen*, "property," see 1928, p. 581, etc.; *rkyen-sa* = "proprietary land". *Khab-so*, which occurs in the Ladak *Chronicle* (Francke, *Antiquities of Western Tibet*, ii, p. 77), denotes perhaps the dwellers in mansions (*khab*), the rich.

25. M.I. x, 4 (wood, c. 11 × 1·5–2 cm., broken away at l., irregularly broken away at bottom; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[1] . . . [k]yab . gyi . sde . yug . pa . mo . Bag . za . Mn—n . mo . [2] | . . . . [s] . . [m]chid . gslo . baḫ

"[*watch*]-tower regiment: widow Bag-za Mn—n-mo . . . letter petition."

On *za* with clan-names of women see 1927, p. 832. It is perhaps = *bzaḫ* "wife", which is similarly employed: "wife of Bag (cf. p. 257) family."

[1] *khaṅ* below line. [2] = *phyed*. [3] *rtsad ?*

26. M.I. xiv, 40 (wood, c. 8 × 1·5 cm., complete ; hole for string at r. ; l. 1 of largish, square *dbu-can* script).

gyar.po.G[u].c[uṅ]. |

"Borrower (lender ?) Gu-cuṅ."

27. M.I. xiv, 43 (wood, c. 10 × 1·5 cm., complete, rather curved ; hole for string at r. ; l. 1 of cursive *dbu-can* script, faint).

❀ || ce.se[1].Ba.spoṅ |

"Lady Ba-spoṅ."

Ce-se, which occurs elsewhere in the form *ce-że*, is perhaps a feminine corresponding to *jo-cho* "chief", etc. In M.I. xxxii, 5m, we read *che-że-chen-mo-yum-sras* "great lady, mother and son"; in M.I. 0028 *Cuṅ-brdzaṅ-che-że-cag*, "Cuṅ-brdzaṅ and lady"; in M.T. 0503 *tsha-bo-Btsan-ra-daṅ-che-że-Lha-ldem*, "grandson Btsan-ra and lady Lha-ldem"; in M. Tāgh. a. iv, 00151 . . . jo-*bo-Klu-bzaṅ-daṅ-ce-że-Gtsug-ldem*.

Adding to the classes here instanced some others previously exemplified, we may arrange as follows :—

(*a*) General : *ḥbaṅs* (also *dmaṅs*, 1927, p. 82 ; 1928, p. 73), "subject" (in a state) ; *mṅan-gyi-ḥbaṅs*, "government subject" or convict (1928, p. 556) ; *lha-yi-ḥbaṅs* or *lha-ḥbaṅs* (1927, p. 829 ; 1928, p. 89), "god's servant" or temple slave ; *sku-bla* (1927, p. 66 ; 1928, p. 86 ; also in M.I. xliii, 0014 ; xliv, 4 ; M.T. c. iv, 0030), "magnate" ; *yul-btsan*, "local magnate" ; *khab-so*, "mansion-dweller" ; *las-myi* (M.I. vii, 2 and 64 ; xiv, 4 ; M.T. 0605), "workman" ; *bran* (1928, p. 576), "servant" ; *na-bran*, "house servant" (ibid., p. 560) ; *gu-rib*, "slave" ; *spyugs* (1927, p. 819), "banished man" ; *ce-że*, "lady" ; *gñer*, "steward" (1931, p. 812) ; *byan-po*, "cook" (usually military) ; *yug-pa-mo*, "widow" ; *yul-myi* (p. 258 and 1928, p. 573), "local people."

(*b*) Connected with agriculture : *żiṅ-dpon*, "landlord" ; *żiṅ-pa*, "cultivator" ; *gżi-mkhan* (1927, p. 79), "peasant" (?) ; *chun-pa* (1928, p. 573), "field-watchman" ; *stsaṅ-ḥdren*,

[1] *Co-sa ?*

"grain conveyor" (*quasi* "carter"); *śiṅ-thuṅ* (1928, p. 582), "stick-gatherer."

(*c*) Connected with animals and travel: see *infra*, pp. 466–7.

(*d*) Other professions: on *sman*, "physician," *rtsig*, "lawyer," *yi-ge-pa*, "scribe," see *infra* (p. 273); *glu-myi* (1930, p. 74) should be "singer", *zaṅs-mgar* (*infra*, p. 473) "coppersmith".

(*e*) Religious: *mkhan-po*, "abbot"; *ban-de* (the usual term), Buddhist *dge-sloṅ* or monk (*bhikṣu*); *dge-bsñen*, "lay adherent (*upāsaka*)"; *dben* or *sben*, "hermit" (*dben-sa* "hermitage", 1927, pp. 59–60); *spod*, or *ḥtul-maṅ* (*gtul*), "ascetic" (ibid., pp. 71–2); *bon-po*, "a Bon worshipper" (*infra*, p. 482–3); *lha-bon-po*, "a deva-bon worshipper" (ibid.). On *tshos-khur(ṅ)*, "painter" (??), *khur-skya*, and *ho-peṅ*, see *infra*, p. 481.

In this connection we may take note of the designations of cities and places of residence:—

mkhar, "city," the general term, perhaps, implying fortification; *skun-khar* (later *sku-mkhar*), "citadel" or "fortress" (1928, p. 566, etc.); *khrom*, "mart" or "city" (1927, p. 832; 1931, p. 830), *khrom-chen-po*, "great city" (1927, p. 877, etc.); *groṅ-khyer*, "great city"; *groṅ-rdal*, "hamlet"; *braṅ* (1931, p. 812), "dwelling-place"; *pho-braṅ*, "palace" or house of king, noble, or high official (1927, pp. 56, 58, 72, etc.); *braṅ-sa*, "station on (mountain) route" (1931, p. 812); *khaṅ*, "house" or "hut" (1928, p. 582); *gtsug-lag-khaṅ*, "monastery"; *khab*, "mansion"; *mthoṅ-khab* (*khyab*), "watch-tower" (1928, pp. 559, etc.); to which we may append *mdad*, "monument," and *baṅ-so*, "tomb" (1928, pp. 579–81), *dben-sa*, "hermitage" (1927, pp. 59, 61), *liṅs*, "park" (1927, pp. 59, 61), *gdan* and *gdan-sa*, "dīvān" (1927, p. 71; 1930, p. 76, etc.); *gam*, "posting station."

3. Agriculture and Crops, Registration, Taxation, Survey

(*a*) *Agriculture and Crops*

28. M.I. xxv, 001 (paper, fol. No. 65 in vol., c. 27 × 16 cm.,

fragmentary on all sides; ll. 14 of scrawled cursive *dbu-can* script).

[1] *dmag* . pon . gi . žiṅ . dor . . . [2] . . . gcig . . . . -ruṅ . g—ḫ . dkar . [phy]e . . . . [R]g[-]d . ma[ṅ] . gi . ži[ṅ] . dor . gci[g] [3] . . . [ph]ye [1] . daṅ . gñis | Gnag . Phru . bo . dor . phyed . daṅ . gñis . [Pa [2] . b]zaṅs . kyi . dor . gcig | Nag . śod . du . . . [4] . . . gi . [*žiṅ . dor . phyed*] | Sp[e] . brtsan . gi . dkar . tu . rmos . paḫ | mag . pon . gi . ži[ṅ . do]r . gcig | Spyan . gi . žiṅ . dor . gcig . . . [5] . . . dmag . pon . gi . žiṅ . dor . gcig | yar . phugs . dor . gcig | Nam . legs . kyis . dkar . tu . rmos . pa . . . [6] . . . dor . gñis | Li [3] . Rgya . Lha . lod . kyis . dkar . tu . rmos . paḫ | dgra . blon . žiṅ . dor . gñis | mṅan . gi . žiṅ . dor . . . [7] . . . —is [4] . dkar . tu . rmos . paḫ | bgruṅ . rdziṅ . naḫ . dor . phye . daṅ . bži | mṅan . žiṅ . dor . gñis | Gnag . Ra . ba . dor . gcig . . . [8] . . . gi . žiṅ . dor . phyedaṅ . gsum | Dpal . po . legs . gis . dkar . tu . rmos . . . . . ñis | Gnag . [Rn]aḫ | . . . [9] . . . dor . phye . daṅ . gñis | To . nes . dkar . tu . rmos . paḫ | bgruṅ . rdziṅ . dor . gñis . . . . . . [bgruṅ . rdziṅ] . . . [10] . . . tsan . gi . dor . phyed | Gnag . Kha . bzaṅs . gi . dor . gcig | [*R*]god . ch- . dor . g . . . [11] . . . gs . dkar . bgruṅ . rdziṅ . dor . gcig | Gdag . Rgod . niṅ . gi . žiṅ . dor . gcig . . . [12] . . . kar . bgruṅ . rdziṅ . dor . phyed . daṅ . gñis | rud . pon . gi . ži . . . [13] . . . r . phyed | Grol . [th]ar . gis . dkar . [tho]g . d— . st . . . [14] . . . Rtse . rgod . do[r] . phye . daṅ . gsum . . . .

"[1] The General's land, team . . . [2] . . . one . . . wheat, half . . . [R]g[-]d-ma[ṅ]'s land, one team. [3] . . . one and a half; Gnag Phru-bo, one and a half teams; [Pa-b]zaṅs, one team. In Nag-śod . . . [4] . . . 's land, a half team: ploughed by Sp[e]-brtsaṅ for wheat. The General's land, one team; the Spyan's land, one team . . . [5] . . . The General's land, one team; upper end (?), one team: ploughed by Nam-legs for wheat . . . [6] . . . two teams: ploughed by Chinaman Lha-lod for wheat. The Foreign Councillor's land, two teams;

[1] = *phyed*.
[2] *Li?* crossed out?
[3] *Kha? Rla?*
[4] [*gy*]*is*?

government land, . . . teams . . . [7] ploughed by . . . for wheat. In "drained-pond" (a place ?) three and one-half teams; government land, two teams; Gnag Ra-ba, one team . . . [8] . . .'s land, two and a half teams: ploughed by Dpal-po-legs for wheat . . . two; Gnag Rnaḫ [9] . . . one and a half teams: ploughed by To-ne for wheat. 'Drained-pond,' two teams . . . 'drained-pond' . . . [10] . . . tsan's half team, Gnag Kha-bzaṅs, one team. In Rgod, . . . team . . . [11] . . . wheat, 'drained-pond', one team. Gdag Rgod-niṅ's land, one team . . . [12] . . . wheat, 'drained-pond', one and a half teams. The Horn-commander's land . . . [13] . . . a half: by Grol-[thar], wheat crop . . . [14] . . . Rtse-rgod, two and a half teams. . . ."

It seems possible that in these cases the word "team" or "yoke" (*dor*) is used as a measure of land, "as much as two strong oxen could plough from morn to night", see *infra*, p. 266; the word, however, does occur in its literal sense (1927, p. 817, and see the dictionaries) and, as previously (1928, p. 562) suggested, the teams may have been supplied for the farmers' use; but the "half-team" is then a difficulty.

The "white" (*dkar*), which we have rendered "wheat", is probably the "white grass" of the *Ts'ien Han Shu* (cf. Wylie, *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, x, p. 25). The document contains some obscure phrases—*yar-phugs*, "upper corner," *bgruṅ-rdziṅ*, "drained pond"; also *gnag-ra-ba*, and *gdag-rgod-niṅ*, which may not be personal names. *Spyan* is perhaps a short equivalent of *Rgyal-gzigs*, "the King's Eye". On Nag-śod and Rtse-rgod see *supra*, 1928, pp. 561 sqq., 590; on the *ru-dpon*, 1933, p. 388. The mention of the General's land, the Horn-commander's land, the Foreign Councillor's land, and *infra* (p. 273) the Tax-account Clerk's land, suggests a system of salary by way of *jāgīr* allotments.

29. M.I. xxviii, 0028 (wood, c. 14 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 *recto* + 2 *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script, faint).

[A 1] ❀ || gcig | ltaṅ (lhaṅ ?) . sogs . gyi . žiṅ . dor . g[cig] . . . [A 2] kyi . žiṅ . dor . phyed | Stag . chuṅ . [gyis] . rmos . pa | [Na]g . śo [d] . . . [B 1] kyi . žiṅ . dor . gñis | ru . pon . gyi . žiṅ . dor . gcig | žiṅ . [B 2] lag . las . dor . gcig | Khrom . phan . gyis . rmos . pa ||

". . . one. Baleman's land, one team . . . land of . . . half-team : ploughed by Stag-chuṅ. [In] Nag-śod, land of . . . two teams : the Horn-commander's land, one team. From extra-piece (*lag* = *lhag ?*) of land, one team : ploughed by Khrom-phan."

The expression "*from* extra piece . . ." suggests that the above is a fragment of a list of *returned* teams, and thus favours the literal interpretation of *dor* : see also the next document.

30. M.I. xlv, 3 (wood, c. 14·5 × 1·5–2 cm., cut away at top and (?) bottom ; hole for string at r. ; ll. 2 *recto* + 1 (a different hand) *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A 1] ❀ | : | Khu . [cuṅ (bur ?)] | Khu . rtan . rmaṅ(d ?)[1] . pa | gstsaṅ . gi . yi . ge . chu . ṅu . ḫi . žiṅ . [A 2] dor . gsum | [B, *inverted*] log . myi . gdug

[A] "Tilled by Khu-cuṅ, Khu-rtan ; small letter land crop, three teams. [B] Are not returned."

The *Khu-cuṅ* "Little Khu" would be a subdivision of the Khu tribe, whereof the chieftain was *Khu-Maṅ-po-rje* : for similar expressions see *supra*, 1927, p. 57. *Rmad* is doubtless derived from *rmed* or *rmod* "plough" or "till". "Small letter land crop" will refer to a system of accounts ; cf. *yi-ge-ched-po* below (p. 496). On "are not returned", which might, however, relate to the tiller, see *supra*.

31. M.I. vii, 21 (wood, c. 8 × 1·5–2 cm., rather pointed at l., broken away at r. ; l. 1 *recto* of largish *dbu-can* script + 2 *verso* in a smaller, scrawled hand, rubbed and faint).

[A] Gsas . ko[l ?].

[B 1] . . . ḫdus . la | dor . gsu[m] . . . [B 2] [ḫkh]o[n] . gyi . gleḫu . [ž]i[ṅ] . dor . g . . .

[1] = *rmed ?*

"[A] Gsas-ko[l ?] [B 1] To . . . ḫdus, three teams . . . [B 2] . . . ḫkhon's rough land, *three* teams."

The word *gleḫu*, which has occurred *supra*, recurs in the Tibetan *Chronicle*, l. 253, *Stoṅ-sdeḫi-gleḫu-thogsla-khral-pa-gu-ru-spugs*; also in M.I. xvi, 005, and M.T. c. iii, 0066. It is perhaps identical with *gle*, noted *supra*, 1930, p. 259.

32. M. Tāgh. c. ii, 0017 (wood, c. 15 × 1·5 cm., complete; ll. 2 *recto* + 2 *verso* of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script; hole for string at r.).

[A 1] ༄ || Dgyes : sde : po . Khri : ma . rjes : la : Yul : skyes : ki : gso [A 2] l : ba : gži : ḫdir : mchis . pa . Li : gži : daṅ : Bod gži [B 1] r . rba [1] : myi : ḫthun : ṅa : Li . gži : dum : pa : ḫga : žig : tshold [B 2] te : *skur* : cig : ra : raṅ : ba : ḫga : btsal : te : ma : ḫoṅs : na : myi : *ruṅ*

"To Khri-ma-rjes of the Dgyes regiment: petition of Yul-skyes. I have come to this place. As in the Khotanī land and the Tibetan land the *rba* does not correspond, send demanding a piece of the Khotanī land. If no one comes to demand some satisfactory *rba*, it is not well (*or* if some satisfactory *rba* shall be required, it [will be] not well in future)."

The reference is, no doubt, to some local assignment of land where Khotanīs and Tibetans were in joint occupation. What *rba* denotes is not clear; possibly it is a miswriting for *rtswa* "grass". *Ma-ḫoṅs-na* may mean "in the future". On *Dgyes*, see 1933, p. 554.

33. British Museum Or. 8212 (194*a*) [2] (paper, c. 30·5 × 15 cm., complete; ll. 7 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[1] ༄ || khyiḫi . loḫi . dpyid || Bam . Śaṅ . tsheṅ . kyi . skya . žiṅ . Hve . gu . na . žiṅ . slaṅ . bu . gsum . la . dor . gchig [2] mchis . pa | Waṅ . Bur . ḫdo . la . mthun . moṅ . du . phyed . mar . khre . rmor . stsal . te || myi . blas . ni . mñam . bar . [3] bgyi ⁘ bar . bgyis || rmon . pa . daṅ . sug . spyad . ni . Bur . ḫdos . sbyar . bar . bgyis || khreḫi . thog .

[1] *rtsa* ?

[2] Photograph procured with the assistance of Dr. L. D. Barnett, Keeper of the Department, who has kindly also given permission for publication.

mi[1] . [4] ji . byuṅ . ba . phyed . mar . bgo . bar . bgyis | paḫi . dpaṅ . la | Sag . Dge . legs . daṅ . Soṅ . Hyve . ḫdo . [5] la-stsogs . paḫi . dpaṅ . rgya . daṅ . žiṅ . bdag . Śaṅ . tsheṅ . gyi . sug . rgyas . btab . paḫ || slad . kyis . [6] Bur . ḫdos . žiṅ . snams . ñ[2] bgyiste | žiṅ . bdag . gud . na . žig . byuṅ . bar . gyur . na | Śaṅ . tsheṅ . gis [7] mchid . gyis . ḫtshal . bar . bgyis || (3 *smudged seal impressions*).

"Spring of the Dog year: Bam Śaṅ-tsheṅ having in Hve-gu crop land, one team (*dor*) in three small enclosures, entrusted it to Waṅ Bur-ḫdo to plough for millet in partnership (*thun-moṅ-du*), at one-half; it is to be worked on a level with the previous man (*myi-bla*, i.e. the previous tenant). Plougher and hand-labour (*sug-spyad*) to be supplied by Bur-ḫdo. The resultant (*ji-byuṅ-ba*) harvest of millet is to be divided in halves. In witness whereof the attestation-seals (*dpaṅ-rgya*) of Sag-Dge-legs and Soṅ Hyve-ḫdo and the rest and the hand-signature of the landlord (*žiṅ-bdag*), Śaṅ-tsheṅ, are attached. Subsequently if any loss (*gud*) shall have taken place through Bur-ḫdo neglecting (*snams?*) the land, Śaṅ-tsheṅ is to make a demand in writing (*mchid-gyis-ḫtshal-ba*)."

A very clear and complete document. The letting by a landlord (*žiṅ-bdag* = *žiṅ-dpon*) to a tenant, who is required to raise a crop of millet not falling below the level of the previous tenant, is attested by witnesses and signatures: the crop is to be halved, and in the event of a falling-off or loss the landlord is to make a protest. The term *dor* "team" seems clearly here to denote a measure of land. *Slaṅ-bu* may be connected with *sloṅ*, "erect," and mean "fence" or "enclosed land"; cf. *slaṅ-kha*, "shelf" or "stand". *Snams*: cf. 1928, p. 569.

As the document comes from the hidden library of Tun-huang, it is not surprising that the clan-names Bam, Waṅ, Sag, Soṅ are included among those previously elicited (1928, pp. 91 sqq.). The personal names also are accordant, being all, no doubt, Chinese, except that of Sag Dge-legs, a Tibetan, who seems actually to recur in that list.

[1] Crossed out.

[2] ñ(ž) crossed out.

The place Hve-gu, doubtless in the Śa-cu district, is not yet identified := Wei-wu (Chavannes, *T'oung-pao*, 1905, p. 525)?

34. M.I. ix, 15 (wood, c. 21 × 1·5 cm., cut away at top; hole for string at r.; ll. 1 *recto* + 1 (+ vowel-signs of a second) *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A] | paḥ . ldum . rā . lhu . brgyad . cig . Nob . chu . ṅu . na . mcis . pa | ban . de . Byaṅ . cub . sñiṅ . po . rmed [B 1] rmed . pa . las || ban . de . tshe . ḥdaḥs . pa || bdag . ṅan . paḥi . stoṅ . sde . daṅ [1] . žaṅ . druṅ . yaṅ [2] . lags . na [B 2] ḥdi

"There being in Little Nob some eight pieces of patrimonial garden land, these were cultivated by the *ban-de* Byaṅ-cub-sñiṅ-po. The *ban-de* being deceased, as the Thousand-district and Uncle-officials are [under the charge] of my humble self (*or* 'in view of your humble servant's being Thousand-governor and Uncle (noble) official') . . ."

Ldum-ra, "vegetable enclosure," garden, or orchard, recurs in M.I. xxi, 6.

The objection to the bracketed rendering is that grammatically it requires *bdag-ṅan-pa*, not °*paḥi*. On the *Stoṅ-sde* see *supra*, pp. 93–4, 255.

35. M.I. ii, 005 (wood, c. 18 × 2 cm., broken away at r.; ll. 2 *recto* + 2 *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A 1] ❧ | : | ḥbrug . gi . loḥi . sa . bon . daṅ . žiṅ . paḥ . brgyags . th[o]g[i] . gro . las . god . paḥ | khal . [phye ?] . . . [A 2] Klu . dgos . gyi . brgyags . khal . phyed | sa . bon . khal . gcig . bre . bži | ba . phye . rgyu . bre . do | Lha . le[gs] . . . [B 1] rin . bre . brgyad | sde . rjes . bre . bchu . gñis | ži[ṅ] . thog . las . jo . bo . Btsa[n . b]zaṅ . la . nas . khal . g[su] . . . [B 2] gsum | Nob . chu . ṅur . khre . khal . gñis . [dr]aṅs | Ka . dag . khre . las . Lha . [g]uṅ . rta . rin . du . [khal] . . . [*Between B* 1 *and B* 2] sde [graṅ ? ?]

"Seed and farmer's provisions for the Dragon year paid from the harvest wheat, loads . . . To Klu-dgos, provisions, half a load, seed one load, four *bre*, cattle [3] flour-stuff two *bre*.

[1] *daṅ* below line. [2] *ṅ* below line.

[3] Or is *ba-phye* a miswriting for *bag-phye*, "flour"?

To Lha-legs, price . . ., eight *bre*. By the District-chief twelve *bre*. From the field-harvest: To my lord Btsan-bzaṅ, barley . . . three loads. Millet conveyed to Little Nob, two loads. From the Ka-dag millet, to Lha-guṅ for price of a horse, loads . . ."

This document illustrates the process of distribution of cereals by way of wages, payments, and for seed. The distribution will not always have been direct; we have seen examples of distribution by way of drafts and circular orders and also of assignment and prescript. But the country must, nevertheless, have been covered with the storage granaries, for which we have found the name *stsaṅ-gam*, corresponding to the *draṅgas* of the Kharoṣṭhī documents, which also are seen (e.g. in Nos. 272, 439) to have been numerous.

36. M.I. iv, 44 and 46 (wood, c. 18 × 1·5 cm., broken in middle; ll. 2 *recto* + 1 *verso* of cursive *dbu-caṅ* script).

[A 1] ❦ || źiṅ . daṅ . sa . bon . nos . źes . [spri]ṅ . ba . ma . mnos . sa . bon . na . niṅ . gyi [1] . chad . [A2] las . phyis . śig . ces . mchi . | Ḫgreṅ . ro . la . sku . b[la] [2] . gcig . bskur . ba . thob . ma [B] thob ||

"Without consideration of the message 'seed received with land', it is said that the seed from last year's harvest (or dues, *chad*?) should come later. Some leading person sent to Ḫgreṅ-ro may or may not have received it."

Phyis-śig must be an imperative (of *ḫphyi-ba*). In *sku-bla*, "a magnate," *sku* is an honorific prefix, as in *sku-yon*, "donor," etc. On Ḫgreṅ-ro see 1928, pp. 86–7.

37. M.I. xiv, 119 (wood, c. 22 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 4 *recto* + 1 *verso* of rather small, cursive *dbu-can* script, faint).

[1] ❦ || bgyir . myi . bde . na . yaṅ . gtad . dpaṅ . poḫi . sug . rgya . glan . du . bgyi . źiṅ | tha . sñad . cis . gtad . gcog . pa . tsam . ẑig . g-yas [3] [2] skya . g-yar [4] . tshod . mchis . par .

[1] *gyiṅ*?
[2] *bu*?
[3] *s* below line.
[4] *r* below line.

[bgo [1]] ; bar . gsol . źiṅ . mchis || Sñon . cuṅ . daṅ . Dro . brtsan . gyi . dpya . stsaṅ . rnam . śas . śig [3] mchis . pa . | Ḫbrog . du . s[ṅ]o . rṅa [2] . la . s[ts]aṅ . khal . bdun . źig . ḫdren . paḫi . slad . ma | khre . ba . mch[i]s . na . ci . lom . du . bsgyur | khre . [ma [3]] [4] . . .-i || g[r]aṅs [4] . bzaṅ . [po] . la . . . . gtaṅ . źiṅ . g[tan] . tshigs . bzaṅ . por . bgyi . bar . ci . gna[ṅ] || Bor . [pha]ṅs [5] . kyi . [B 1] rin . chab . sraṅ . gñis . źig . mchi . ba . źib . tu . Leg . leg . las [6] . gsol . pa . lags . na | ḫdi . tshe . khon . [b]skur . bar . ci . gnaṅ ||

"Though sorry to do it, yet, as given witnessed signatures must be made good (*glan* from *lan* or *len*), I beg you to give orders for the crops of all those (*tsam-źig*) who have defaulted in respect of the given agreement (*tha-sñad*) to come in, to the amount of the borrowing (*g-yar-tshod ?*). Of the tax corn (*dpya-stsaṅ*) of Sñon-cuṅ and Dro-brtsan some instalment (*rnam*) has come. Millet having come subsequent to the conveying of seven loads of corn to Sṅo-rṅa (?) in the Ḫbrog country, has it been received (*ci-lom-du-bsgyur ?*) ? Millet . . . as [I] am sending . . . in large amount (*graṅs-bzaṅ-po-la ?*), please make a good acknowledgement (*gtan-tshigs ?*). I have definitely requested Leg-leg that Bor-phaṅs' silk-cotton (*rin-che-ba*), some two ounces, should come. Be pleased to [see that he] send it now."

The obscurities in this in principle quite intelligible document are due to difficulties of reading. The beginning relates to calling in of an equivalent from the crops of certain defaulting obligatees. On *rnam*, = "instalment", see *supra* (1927, p. 838); *gtan-tshigs* is "proof", "confirmation", "document" (1928, p. 576). *Rin-che-ba* is given in S. C. Das' dictionary as = *du-kū-laḫi-ras*, "silk-cotton." On *lom* (= *lon ?*) see 1933, p. 541 ; *tha-sñad* = Sanskrit *vyavahāra* (1928, pp. 576–8). *Sṅo-rṅa* not a proper name ?

38. M.I. iv, 105 (wood, c. 21 × 2 cm., complete ; hole for string at r. ; ll. 2 *recto* + 2 *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[1] *bgyi ?* [2] *rta ?* [3] *yaṅ ?*
[4] *khruṅs ?* [5] *yas ?* [6] *legsam ?*

[A 1] ❦ || blon . Pal . sum . gyis || bkaḥ . nan . stsal . te | ḥdi . [n ?]i . Stag . bor . la . brdzaṅ . ba | [A 2] Myes . kri . la . gro . khal . phye(d) . daṅ . brgyad || Coṅ . stoṅ . la . do . cig . gi . thog . chad . khal . [phye ?] [B 1] daṅ . gñis . Ru . tsog . la . thog . chad . khal . phye(d) . daṅ . gsum | Rlaṅ . K[l]u . sto . la . thog . chad | [B 2] rñiṅ . maṅ . mo . źig . mchis . pa . las | na . niṅ . Śod . du . mchis . paḥi . tshe ||

"Councillor Pal(Dpal)-sum having sent stringent orders, from here are to be sent to Stag-bor these :—For Myes-kri wheat, eight loads less one-half ; for Coṅ-stoṅ, of the present harvest-cutting (*thog-chad*), two loads less one-half ; for Ru-tsog, of the [present] harvest-cutting, three loads less one-half. To Rlaṅ Klu-sto a great deal of the old harvest has gone, at the time when [he] was in Śod last year."

On Śod see 1928, p. 592.

39. M. Tāgh. 0252 (wood, c. 8 × 2·5 cm., pointed at l. broken away at r. : ll. 2 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[1] ❦ || Dge . bzaṅ . gis . draṅs . . . [2] yaṅ . kh . .

"Conveyed by Dge-bzaṅ . . . also *load* . . .

On transport of grain see *supra*.

We have seen above (1928, pp. 560, 572–3) that in the Nob region there was a "land-arrangement (*or* settlement, *źiṅ-ḥgod*)" : the "old usage" (*riṅ-lugs*) of the land-settlement is there mentioned. Since in the case of the "lord's-land" (*rje-źiṅ*, royal or manorial land, on which see 1928, pp. 562, 564, 572) there are special regulations prohibiting fixed holdings (*gtan-źiṅ*) and special rights (*dbaṅ-thaṅ*, ibid., pp. 572–4 and M.I. iv, 27), it is to be presumed that such privileges were elsewhere valid. The existence of a class of landlords (*źiṅ-dpon* or °*bdag*) and the frequent mention of the lands of individuals, both private and official, suggests that both private possession and official tenure (as *jāgīr*) were usual.

The manorial land of Nob was divided by raised partitions (*bteṅs-kha*, also in M.I. xxvi, 7) and the water-supply was regulated. The latter was doubtless the case elsewhere also ;

in the Śa-cu area there is mention of canals or water-conduits (*yur-ba*, *infra*, pp. 279–280). On *slaṅ-bu* "small enclosure" see *supra* p. 266.

Compulsory cultivation (perhaps, however, only after agreement) with punishments for abandoning the plough (*thoṅ-bros*) and for positive offences is evidenced in the case of the manorial lands of Nob. Some other slight references to summoning tillers from the towns (for the season), e.g. p. 272 and 1928, pp. 572–3, suggest that in other cases also the cultivator (*żiṅ-pa*) may not have been completely free.

A Śa-cu document (*infra*, pp. 275 sqq.) discriminates (*a*) crop land (*skya-żiṅ*), (*b*) poor land (*phoṅs-żiṅ*), and (*c*) "juniper-land" (*śug-żiṅ*). The "poor land" may be the same as the *gle* or *gleḫu* (*supra*, p. 265). We have also mention (p. 267) of pieces (*lhu*) of garden or vegetable plots (*ldum-ra*).

Ploughing (*rmo-ba*) was done with the aid of teams (*dor*) of oxen or yaks, apparently supplied; in the case of a vegetable plot the tilling is called *rmed-pa*. The seed (*sa-bon*) seems to have been supplied to the cultivator (*supra*, pp. 267–8). The crop was *skya* and the harvest-yield (*thog*; *lo-thog* "year's yield") was "cut" (*chad*). Corn was *stsaṅ*, and "granary" *stsaṅ-gam*; "flour" is *phye*, "mill" *ḫthag*.

The commonest crops were barley (*nas*), wheat (*gro*), white (*dkar*) and black (*gnag*), and millet (*khre*). There is mention also of mustard or turnips (*stsaṅ-yuṅs*) and cotton (*ras*). Implied in the mention of *yu* (*rgyu*)-*mar* "oil material" is sesamum, and wood (*śiṅ*) is also rendered as material (*rgyu*) for arrows and tablets (*khram*). Perhaps glue-material (*spyin*) occurs, along with feathers (*sgro*), in the same connection (vol. liii, fol. 6).

The tax (*dpya*, *khral*) was levied in kind; so, too, rent, and the distribution by prescripts and assignments, as price (*rin*) of goods supplied, and by actual transport has been sufficiently illustrated.

The total of the year's revenue is *lo-thaṅ* (M.I. xiv, 0015; M.T. a. ii, 0033).

(b) *Registration, Taxation*

40. **M.I.** xiv, 0016 (wood, c. 16 × 2 cm., broken away at r.; ll. 2 *recto* + 2 *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A 1] ❦ | : | lo . thaṅ . ḥdir . gñer . bkum . baḥi . rnams || rtsis . paḥi . phrin . [by] . . . [A 2] gi . naṅ . nas . myiṅ . smar [*sic*] . ḥbyuṅ . ba . lagsna . Rgyal . bzaṅ . la . yaṅ . de . [bži] . . .

[B 1] ❦ | . | rtsis . kyaṅ . sṅon . daṅ . myi . ḥdra . ste || blon . Maṅ . zigs . kyi . g-yar . s[ṅ]a[r] . . . [B 2] mcis || khrom . phyogs . kyi . bkaḥ . mcid . ji . gdaḥ . ba . ni || Klu . legs . kyis . . .

"[A] From the reports of statistics by those who have been engaged upon the year's revenue here we have the result with names. To Rgyal-bzaṅ also accordingly . . .

"[B] Statistics also not agreeing with the previous have already gone up to Councillor Maṅ-zigs. As to the gossip in the town quarter, Klu-legs. . . ."

On *phrin-by[aṅ]* (1927, p. 826, etc.) and *gñer-bkum* (1927, p. 810, etc.), see *supra*; *myiṅ-smar* (*miṅ-smrar*) is a common phrase, and *lo-thaṅ* the usual designation of the annual revenue (p. 271).

41. M.I. xiv, 49 (wood, c. 11 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[1] ❦ || log . ba . rtsiḥ . baḥi . tshe . bži . g-yon . len [2] gyi . myiṅ . smraḥ ||

"Name-record of defaulters (*g-yon-len*) at the time of counting those returned."

From other documents it would appear that the persons returned were those compelled to till the lands. *G-yon-skor*, "taking to the left" = "deserting", "avoiding", occurs *infra*, p. 463.

42. M.I. viii, 6 (wood, c. 13 × 2 cm., broken away at l. top; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 *recto* + 1 *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A 1] *Yos* . bu . loḥi . ston . [ža]ṅ . lon . gyi . ḥbaṅs . žiṅ . pa . mchi[s] . [A 2] pa[ḥi ?] . rnams | gyi . thog . bul . god . brtsis . nas | cad . paḥi [B] miṅ . smra . |

"Hare-year, autumn: Name-record of those punished after the counting of the receipts of harvest income from the Uncle-Councillor's servants who were farmers."

43. M.I. xxxiii, 5 c. (wood, c. 10 × 1·5–2 cm., somewhat broken away at l. top; ll. 2 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[1] . . . [kh]ral . rts[i]s . kyi . yi . ge . pa . Rlaṅ [2] Raṅ . ruḥi . žiṅ . dor . gñi[s] |

"Land of Rlaṅ Raṅ-ru, tax-account clerk, two teams."

Rlaṅ is a somewhat frequently recurring tribal name; see *supra*, 1928, p. 584. The Clerk's land is perhaps a *jāgīr*; see *supra*, p. 270.

44. M.I. ii, 18 (wood, c. 9·5 × 1·5 × 1 cm., complete; hole for string at l.; notches; l. 1 (on narrow side) of cursive *dbu-can* script).

❁ || bu . lon . gyi . baṅ . khram.

"Loan store ticket."

45. M.I. xxiv, 0013 (wood, c. 10·5 × 1 × 1 cm., split away at one edge for a tally; incised lines and notches; ll. 1 (with indications of a prior one) + 1 + 1 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A] rta | gro

[B] stsaṅ . baṅ . khram . na . b[y]aṅ . phyogs .

[C] paḥi . baṅ . r[ta | ?]

"[A] Horse: wheat.

"[B] Grain-store-ticket north side store horse."

A thorough system of accounts, as implied in the existence of a Tibetan ministry of accounts (*rtsis-pa-chen-po*), of a Councillor for Accounts (*tshaṅ-lon*) at Śa-cu and a total of account (*rtsis-mgo*, 1928, p. 573, etc.) for the Khotan kingdom, is exhibited by the documents in its working. Reckonings of all kinds, on the part of officials, civil, military, and ecclesiastic (1927, pp. 835 sqq.; 1928, pp. 66 sqq.), contend in number with the letters of private individuals recording their dues, wages, claims, and payments; to judge from these records the people of Chinese Turkestan during the period of Tibetan rule (as also during the previous Kharoṣṭhī

period) seem to have found in such calculations an absorbing preoccupation.

The year's revenue (*lo-thaṅ*) will have included contributions (*dpya*) additional to the agricultural produce. Among a residue of a year's levy are mentioned (1928, p. 586) "ass, yak, bell-metal, wool, hair"; we have noted *supra* (p. 258) a carpet as a tax (*khral*); elsewhere we have a horse as a tax (*khral-rta*, M. Tāgh. a. ii, 00101); and probably again (*infra*, p. 463) a smoke, or house, tax (*dud-khral*). There might be also a yield from gold and copper mining, from manufacture of silk (*men-tri*) and cotton goods, skins, woollen ropes and felts, and from the jade-workings; also from the following of trades and from transit dues.

The phrase "lands of small letter" implies perhaps a secretariat device; concerning the *khrams* and *khram-tshan*'s sufficient has already been said (*supra*, 1928, pp. 69–70; 1930, p. 65).

(c) *Survey*

46. Ch., no number (paper, fol. No. 2 in vol. lxxiii, c. 16 × 16 cm.; torn away at top, bottom, and r.; ll. 10 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[1] ❦ ‖ ż . . . [2] brgyad . chul . ḫdom [1] . bži . cu . rtsa . g . . . [3] (cu ?) rtsa . drug | žiṅ . ñi . śu . rtsa . gcig | $\overset{o}{o}$ . . . [4] ḫdom . ñi . śu . rtsa . brgyad | $\overset{o}{o}$ | nub . phyogs . . . [5] byaṅ . bži . bcu . rtsa . brgyad | $\overset{o}{o}$ | slaṅ . bu . ḫdi . . . [6] lho . byaṅ . ḫdom . brgyad | $\overset{o}{o}$ | [2] gśoṅ . gyi . byaṅ . phy . . . [7] nub . ḫdom . bcu . gñis | $\overset{o}{o}$ | deḫi . nub . phyogs . na . sl . . . [8] bdun | $\overset{o}{o}$ | deḫi . nub . phyogs . na . slaṅ . bu . gsum | śar . . . [9] deḫi . nub . phyogs . na . slaṅ . bu . gcig | lho . byaṅ . ḫdom . ñi . śu . rtsa . b . . . [10] [3] lho . byaṅ [. ḫdom . bži] . . .

". . . eight *chul*, fathoms forty-[*one*] . . . six: fields twenty-one . . . fathoms twenty-eight. On the west . . . north forty-eight. This small enclosure (*slaṅ-bu*) . . . south

[1] *ñi* . *śu* here crossed out.
[2] *yaṅ* . *nub* here crossed out.
[3] -*i* . *ḫdom* here crossed out.

[to] north, fathoms eight. North of the ravine . . . west, fathoms twelve. On the west thereof [small enclosures] . . . seven. On the west thereof small enclosures seven : east . . . On the west thereof small enclosure one : south [to] north, fathoms twenty . . . south to north fathoms four . . ."

The expression *chul* is of unknown meaning ; on *slaṅ-bu* see *supra*, p. 266. The document evidently describes a piece of land, belonging, doubtless, to a religious community.

47. Ch. 79, xiv — (paper, vol. liii, fol. 37, similar to the next following, c. 26·5 × 27·5–8 cm., with large defect at r. top ; discoloured and dirty ; ll. 1–10 + 13–16 of good cursive *dbu-can* script, separated by a space partly occupied by ll. 11–12 in a different, smaller hand, partly obscure ; red-ink opening of l. 5 faded. Also two fragments of irregular shape, (*a*) c. 7 × 6 cm. ; (*b*) c. 5·5 × 9 cm.)

[1] . . . nub . . . [2] kyi . mtsams . tho . p[h]yag . . . [3] la[m] . ched . poḫi . gram . na . tho . . . [4] Thu . ñi . boṅ . tsan . gyi . žiṅ . mtsams . . .

[5] . . . . [1] śug . žiṅ . . . [6] s . mtsams . ni ‖ Bor . gan . gyi . žiṅ . daṅ . gñis . kyi . mtsams . tho . p[h]yag . rgya . can . mcis . pa . nas . lho [7] phyogsu . draṅ . ste ‖ Thu . kur . žin [2] . gyi . che[ḫ]u . la . thug ‖ de . nas . nub . phyogsu . draṅs . the ‖ Tho . gon . Seṅ . de . boṅ | [8] brgya . tsan . gyi | śug . žiṅ . daṅ . gñis . kyi . mtsams . tho . pyag . rgya . can . la . thug ‖ de . nas . byaṅ . pyogs . [9] su . draṅs . te . mya . ṅam . la . thug ‖ de . na[s . śar] . pyogsu . draṅs . the ‖ Bor . gan . daṅ . gñis . kyi . mtsams | [10] tho . pyag . rgya . can . la. slar . thug ‖

[11] | žoṅ [3] . th(?)aṅ . du . mtshaṅ [4] . ba . ni . Da . [r]ed . Žal . yi . Rje . gol . skya . bcu | Da . r[e]d . [M ?]ab sgan . skya . ḫi . sum . c[u] . gcig . gi . žiṅ . [ba .]gru . daṅ . blon . tabs . gyi . naṅ . na (mnan ?) mchis . pas . bs[na]n . taṅ . tshaṅ . ṅo ‖

[1] Heading in red ink effaced.

[2] *žin* [*sic*].

[3] *žiṅ ?*

[4] *ma . tshaṅ.*

Kh[a]r . g[o] . caṅ [1] . [12] . . [ph]oṅ . lastso[g]s . pha . skya . phye . daṅ . lha . yaṅ . bži . lṅa (?) . [yo ?]d . do]

[13] skya . žiṅ . chu . ma . sum . khugs || dor . drug . cu . Khe . to . ḥo . mod . na . mcis . paḥi . sa . mtsams . [ni] . śar . Tho . gon . Ño . ko . [14] cheḥi [2] . brgya . tsan . gyi . skya . žiṅ . la . thug | lho . Khar . go . ca[ṅ] . Do . spoṅ . gi . bran . gyi . skya . žiṅ . daṅ . gñis . kyi . mtsams [15] [tho . phyag] . rgya . can . la . thug || byaṅ . Khri . taṅ . Hi . na (ni ?) go . khram . tsan gyi . phoṅ . žiṅ . la . thug ||

[16] || phoṅ . žiṅ . chu . ma . dor . bco . lṅa . Khe . to . ḥo . mod . na . mcis . paḥi . sa . mtsams . ni || [lho] . kho . na . khram [17] [tsan . gyi || skya] . žiṅ . la . thug || [nub] . daṅ . byaṅ . mya . ṅam . la . thug || śar . Tho . gon . Ño . ko . che (tshe) . brgya . tsan . daṅ . gñis . kyi

Fragments :—

A [1] ṅam . daṅ . ž-ṅ . . . [2] daṅ . gñis . kyi . . [3] . . ni || Khri . . . [4] tho . p[h]yag . . . [5] . . . stsa . . .

B [1] taṅ . Thu . ñi . boṅ . brgya . tsan . . . [2] rgya . tsan . mcis . pa . [m] . . . [3] . . . ms . kyis . . .

"[l. 1] . . . west . . . [l. 2] . . . boundary cairn [with] token . . . [l. 3] on the border of the high road, boundary . . . [l. 4] Thu-ñi's land with asses, boundary . . . [l. 5] . . . juniper land . . . [ll. 6–7] boundary : Bor-gan's land and, as boundary of the two, a cairn with a manual token. Thence, proceeding in a southern direction, reaches a small piece (*cheḥu*) of Thu-kur land. [ll. 7–8] Thence, proceeding in a western direction, reaches juniper land of Tho-gon Seṅ-de with one hundred asses, and, as boundary of the two, a cairn with a manual token. [ll. 8–9] Thence, proceeding in a northern direction, reaches a sand desert (*mya-ṅam*). [ll. 9–10] Thence proceeding in an eastern direction reaches back to Bor-gan and, as boundary of the two, a cairn with a manual token. [ll. 11–2] (*small script*) Land amount ? complete : Of Da-red Žal-yi, ten crops in (?) Rje-gol ; of Da-red

[1] *žiṅ . gi ?*
[2] *rkyeḥi ?*

Mab(?)-sgan . , . land of thirty crops ; increased (*bsnan ?*) by a corner and . . . of Councillor . . . the amount is complete (?) Crops four and a half belonging to Khar-go-cañ and so on . . ., and four, five . . .

"[ll. 13–5] Boundaries of crop lands three, not irrigated, in Khe-to-ho-mod, sixty teams :—On the east reaches crop land of Tho-gon Ño-ko with one hundred *chehi* ; on the south reaches crop land of a servant of Khar-go-cañ-Do-spoñ, and, as boundary of the two, a cairn with a manual token ; on the north reaches poor (*phoñ*) land of the Khri-tañ Hi-na(ni ?)-go *khram* account.

"[ll. 16–7] Boundary of poor (*phoñ*) land, not irrigated, in Khe-to-ho-mod, fifteen teams :—

On the exact south reaches crop land of the *khram* account ; on the west and north reaches the sand desert (*mya-ñam*) ; on the east Tho-gon Ño-ko, with one hundred *che*, and . . . of the two . . ."

Fragments :—

A ". . . desert and land . . . and of the two . . . Khri . . . cairn with manual. . . ."

B ". . . *Khri*-tañ Thu-ñi, with one hundred asses . . . with a token."

For comments see after the next document.

48. Ch. 79, xiv, 5 (773, paper, vol. lvi, fol. 51, c. 27·5 × 53·5 cm., imperfect at top, esp. l., and bottom : similar to the preceding ; discoloured and dirty ; ll. 28 of good, cursive *dbu-can* script).

[1] . . . . . . -n . gya (mya ?) . . . . . [2] . . . . . r . gyi . yur . ba . . . . . . [3] . . . . . lña | li . gžin . . . . [4] . . . . ug | | nub . Khri . tañ [5] . . . la . thug || lho . my . . . . [6] skya . žiñ . chu . ma . sum . khugs . dor . drug . cu || Go . na . hi . Khri . ma . bsñuñs . na . mcis . pahi . [7] mtsams . ni || Khri . tañ . Bor . to . khu . brgya . tsan . gyi . skya . žiñ . dañ . gñis . kyi . mtshams . tho . p[h]yag . rgya . can [8] [th]ug || lho . Hor . gol . bar . kyi . lam . la . thug ||

nub . Stoṅ . bśos . gyi . yur . ba . la . thug || byaṅ . Tho . gon . [9] *Seṅ* . de . boṅ . brgya . tsan . gyi . skya . żiṅ . la . thug || || Phoṅ . żiṅ . dor . bco . lṅa . Khule . Mo . ṅan . na . mcis . paḫi |

[10] mtshams . ni || śar . mya . ṅam . la . thug || lho . Khule . Mo . ṅan . gyi . chu . myig . la . thug || nub . Khri . taṅ . Thu [11] . . ṅ . khram . tsan . gyi . śug . żiṅ . la . thug || byaṅ . mya . ṅam . la . thug || || śug . żiṅ . dor . ñi . śu . rtsa . [12] . . . . . . [mcis] . paḫi . sa . mtsams . ni || śar . Ñam . Kan . mog . la . dwen . khram . tsan . gyi . . . . Khri . taṅ . Bor . go . khram . tsan . gyi . phoṅ . żiṅ . la . thug || nub . Da . myi . Boṅ . tshe . khram [13] [tsan . kyi . śug . żiṅ . la . thug] || lho . Khar . go . mu . sgeḫi . lam . pho . che . la . thug ||

[*Space. Red seal*] *Ḫbrog . gi . phyag.*

[14] *bla* (*?*) . . *Khri* (*?*) . *taṅ* . *Bor* . [*Ñ*]*o* . *ko* (?) . *ḫi* . *tsan* . . *bcu* (*?*) [1] skya . żiṅ . daṅ . phoṅ . żiṅ . daṅ . śug . żiṅ . dor . bdun . brgya . sum . cu || [15] *Dgu* . *śul* (thul ?) . gyi . Khe . to . ḫo . mod . daṅ . Bro . go . daṅ . Sa . dar . Mo . [ṅ]an . p[h]yogs . na . mcis . paḫi . sa . mtsams . ni | Jir . ber . ḫu . di | [16] [grog] . skam . nas || lam . po . ches . thuṅ . zad . [cig] || nub . phyogs . draṅs . te || Tho . gon . Ño . ko . brgya . can . gyi . skya . żiṅ . | [17] daṅ . gñis . kyi . mtsams . na . tho . p[h]yag . rgya . can . la . thug | de . nas . Ño . ko . tsan . kyi . skya . żiṅ . daṅ . gñis . kyi . mtsams . kyis | [18] thuṅ . zad . cig . byaṅ . p[h]yogs . su . draṅs . the || lam . phra . moḫi . ḫog . na . tho . p[h]yag . rgya . can . mcis . pa . la . thug || de . nas | [19] lam . phra . mos || nub . phyogs . su . draṅs . te . Ño . ko . [brgya . tsan] . gyi . skya . żiṅ . daṅ . gñis . kyi . mtsams . na . tho . p[h]yag . rgya . can | [20] mcis . pa . la . thug || de . nas . skya . żiṅ . daṅ . gñis . kyi . mtsams . gyis . lho . p[h]yogs . su . draṅ . ste . lam . po . cheḫi . ḫgram [21] na . tho . p[h]yag . rgya . can . la . thug || de . nas . lam . po . ches . nub . p[h]yogs . su . draṅ . ste || Sa . dar . Mo . ṅan . gyi . lu . ma . rked . du | [22] [b]cad . nas || Tho . gon .

[1] Red ink.

Seṅ . de . boṅ . daṅ . gñis . kyi . žiṅ . mtsams . kyis || lho . nub . kyi . mtsamsu . draṅs . te . Khu . le [23] Mo . ṅan . gyi . yur . ba . la . thug || de . nas . yur . bas || byaṅ . p[h]yog . su . bthus . the || San . ḫdo . cin . daṅ . Khe . to . ḫo . mod | [24] gyi . dkaḫ . mdo . ḫdus . paḫi . glad . mya . ṅam . la . thug || de . nas . Khe . to . ḫo . mod . gyi . yur . ba . gya . gyus | lho . p[h]yogsu . draṅ . ste . [25] yur . ba . gñis . mdo . gyes . pa . na . tho . p[h]yag . rgya . can . la . thug || de . nas . yur . bas . mar . draṅs . the . Bye . žo . ja . gaḫi . yur [26] ba . dkaḫ . gyes . paḫi . mdo . naḫ || tho . p[h]yag . rgya . can . la . thug || de . nas . Bye . žo . ja . ga . yur . ba . gya . gyus . draṅs . the | [27] yur . baḫi . mjug | tho . p[h]yag . rgya . can . mchis . pas . mya . ṅam . rked . du . bcad . nas . lho . śar . gyi . mtsamsu . draṅs . the || [28] Da . red . Žal . yi . bran . gyi . skya . žiṅ . daṅ . . . . . . [29] na . tho . p[h]yag . rgya . can . [la . thug] . . .

" [ll. 1–5] . . . conduit (*yur-ba*) . . . five . . . ; west, reaches Khri-taṅ . . . south . . .

" [ll. 6–9] Boundaries of crop lands three, not irrigated, teams sixty, in Go-naḫi Khri-ma-bsñuṅs :—Reaches crop land of Khri-taṅ Bor-to with a hundred *khu* (huts ?), and, as boundary of the two, a cairn with a manual token. On the south reaches the middle Ḫor-gol (*or* Ḫor-gol-bar) road. On the west reaches the Stoṅ-bśos conduit. On the north reaches crop land of Tho-gon [*Seṅ*]-de, with one hundred asses.

" [ll. 9–11] Boundaries of poor land in Khu-le Mo-ṅan, teams fifteen :—On the east reaches the sand desert. On the south reaches the spring of Khu-le Mo-ṅan. On the west reaches juniper land of the *khram* account of Khri-taṅ Thu . . . ṅ. On the north reaches the sand desert.

" [ll. 11–3] Boundaries of juniper land, teams twenty . . . in . . . :—On the east . . . of the *khram* account [of] the retreat at Ṅam-kan-mog, . . . reaches the poor land of the *khram* account [of] Khri-taṅ Bor-go. On the west reaches juniper land of the *khram* account of Da-myi Boṅ-tshe. On the south reaches the high road of Khar-go-mu-sge.

Seal of Ḥbrog.

"[ll. 14–17] ... *account* ... *ten of* ... *Khri-taṅ Bor-Ño-ko*(?).[1] Boundaries of crop land and poor land and juniper land, teams seven hundred and thirty, in the region of Khe-to-ḥo-mod and Bro-go and Sa-dar Mo-ñan in *Dyu-śul* :—From the dry ravine Jir-ber-ḥu-di proceeding by the high road a little way westward, reaches crop land of Tho-gon Ño-ko, with one hundred asses, and on the border of the two a cairn with a manual token. [ll. 17–8] Thence proceeding along the crop land of Ño-ko and the border of the two a little in a northerly direction, reaches a cairn with a manual token, situated below (i.e. west of) a by-road. [ll. 18–20] Thence proceeding by the by-road in a westerly direction, reaches crop land of Ño-ko, with one hundred . . . and on the boundary of the two a cairn with a manual token. [ll. 20–1] Thence by the crop land and the boundary of the two proceeding in a southerly direction, reaches on the border of the high road a cairn with a manual token. [ll. 21–3] Thence by the high road proceeding in a westerly direction, and after cutting across the swamp-land (*lu-ma*) of Sa-dar Mo-ñan land of Tho-gon Sen-de, with — asses, and proceeding along the boundary of the two on a south-west line, reaches the conduit of Khu-le Mo-ñan. [ll. 23–4] Thence by the conduit, where, uniting in a northerly direction, the steep (*dkaḥ ?*) lower valleys (*mdo*) of San-ḥdo-cin and Khe-to-ḥo-mod join in a head, reaches the sand desert. [ll. 24–5] Thence proceeding by the winding Khe-to-ḥo-mod conduit in a southerly direction, reaches, where two conduits part in valleys, a cairn with a manual token. [ll. 25–6] Thence proceeding downwards by the conduit, reaches, in the steep separate valley of the Bye-žo-ja-ga conduit, a cairn with a manual token. [ll. 26–9] Thence proceeding by the winding Bye-žo-ja-ga conduit, and, where beyond (*mjug*) the conduit is a cairn with a manual token, cutting across the sand desert and proceeding on a south-easterly line, reaches crop land of

[1] Red ink.

servants of Da-red Žal-yi and on . . . a cairn with a manual token."

To the surveying operations indicated in the above three documents, with their classification of lands into (*a*) crop land, (*b*) poor land, and (*c*) juniper land, and their references to boundary cairns bearing tokens, and with their measurements of tenements, we may add the description of the division of the " lord's land " in Little Nob (1928, pp. 572–3) into partitions *bžeṅs-kha*, with their boundaries (*ḫtshams*) similarly demarked and with regulation of the water-supply. It may be conjectured that such matters were largely the concern of the *yul-mthoṅ* or *yul-gzigs* as " local surveyor ".

The last two documents probably relate to lands belonging to the religious establishments of Śa-cu. It is therefore not surprising to find that the nomenclature, both local and personal, differs in type from that which we have found associated with the more westerly regions, Nob, etc. What is highly significant is its similarity to that exhibited in the document edited in 1927, pp. 58 sqq., and the other documents discussed in connection with the Ḫa-žas. Thus among the place-names we have *Ḫor-gol, Khu-le Mo-ṅan*, similar to *Ḫo-khol* and *Khu-ñe Mon-gaṅs*, possibly indeed identical therewith. *Rje-gol* and *Ḫor-gol* are place-names of the same cast, and *Sa-dar Mo-ṅan* is similar to *Khu-le Mo-ṅan*; *San-ḫdo-cin* is in agreement with *Sil-gu-cin*, etc. (ibid., p. 84). The other place-names, *Khe-to-ḫo-mod* in *Dgu-śul*, *Bro-go, Ñam-kan-mog, Khar-go-caṅ, Khar-go-mu-sge, Bye-žo-ja-ga*, and stream-names *Jir-ber-ḫu-di, Stoṅ-bśos*, although they manifest a certain analogy of type, afford no certain hold. The personal names include one who is called a Tho-gon, which occurred in the document cited and doubtless means a Tu-yu[k]-hun (Chinese *T'u-huen, Tuei-huen*, cited by Professor Pelliot, *J.As.*, xi, vii (1916), p. 118, *T'oung-pao*, 1920, p. 323): and three persons, Da-red Žal-yi, Da-red M(?)ab-sgan, Da-red Žal-yi, with a prefix occurring in the Da-red Pon-yi and Da-red Blon-yi

of the document and probably meaning "of that ilk". *Da-myi Boṅ-tshe* will probably mean "a man of that place". The clan-name and name-prefix *Khri-taṅ* is highly interesting; see 1933, pp. 559–60: so also *Thu-kur*. *Dgu-śul* (here partly conjectural) recurs in another text. In regard to frequent passage of Tu-yu[k]-hun individuals into Chinese Turkestan see Prof. Pelliot, *J.As.* xi, vii, p. 122, and Dr. Giles, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, vi, p. 830.

The precise particulars of boundaries and boundary marks point to a highly developed survey system. Concerning the *khram* accounts (*khram-tshan*) see 1928, pp. 65 sqq. One or two terms—*che*, and *cheḥi*, *khu*—are of unascertained meaning. "Crop land (*skya-źiṅ*) was mentioned *supra*, p. 266: "not irrigated" (*chu-ma*) is defined in S. C. Das' dictionary as "cultivation which requires irrigation". On *mjug*, "behind," "beyond" (l. 27 of Ch. 79, xiv, 5), see 1928, p. 584.
198.

(*To be concluded.*)

Implements and Vessels used in Vedic Śacrifice

BY RAGHU VIRA

EVERY student of Vedic literature is confronted by vast details of an uncommonly complicated ritual. This ritual engrossed the major part of the religious life of a householder. Every small act promised him riches in cattle and progeny, long life and bliss in the next world. On the other hand, the slightest negligence had to be assiduously atoned for, otherwise it would lead him into misery. Thus it is that even the ropes, the brooms, and their numbers have been carefully recorded, the materials of which they were made, their size, and their functions prescribed with the same thoroughness as the crushing of the *soma*-juice or the coronation of the king.

The materials used are stone, metal (generally bronze or copper), baked clay, wood, bamboo, reeds, grass, skins, and horns. The vessels made out of stone, metal, and baked clay sometimes lack character. Their size and shape are not always definitely specified. A few of them may differ from province to province or from house to house. Similar is the case with skins, horns, and things made of bamboo, reeds, and grass.

Where the form and measurements are not specified, the drawings illustrate what is in general use among the Agnihotrins. (These drawings were made from the specimens exhibited at the Mīmāṃsā Vidyālaya, Poona.[1])

Stone.—The *dṛṣad* and *upala* are used for pounding rice, while *upara* and *grāvan* (two, four, or five) are used for crushing *soma*. The *dṛṣad* (Fig. 1) and *upara* (Fig. 1) are the lower stones, the *upala* (Fig. 2) and the *grāvan* (Fig. 3) the

[1] In certain instances the descriptions given above do not tally with the ancient texts. My object has throughout been to present the tradition as it is preserved to-day.

This Institute also offers for sale complete sets of the implements and vessels described here. The price is Rupees 300 (or £25) for one set.

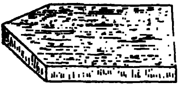


FIG. 1.—*Dṛṣad* or *upara*.



FIG. 2.
Upala.



FIG. 3.
Grāvan.

upper ones. The *grāvan* is one *prādeśa* in length and is *ūrdhva-sānu*. The *upāṃśu-savana*, used for pressing the *upāṃśu-graha*, is similar to the *grāvan*.

Horn.—The horn (Fig. 4) of the sacred *Kṛṣṇa* deer was used for scratching by the *Dīkṣita* in event of an itching sensation. The length prescribed is three or five folds. It was wound over with a rope of *śaṇa*, hemp.



FIG. 4.

Skin.—The full-length (including the neck) of the skin of the *kṛṣṇa* deer was used as an underspread for the *dṛṣad* or as a seat. The white and dark lines of hair made it sacred, and hence a skin without the hair was worthless. It served also for the making of *dhavitra* (Fig. 5), a fan, which was

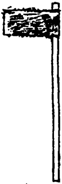


FIG. 5.

used for making the fire blaze. A bamboo or *udumbara* (*Ficus Glomerata*) piece, an arm in length (= 12 *aṅgulas*), made up the handle.

Bamboo and Reeds.—Either bamboo or reeds were used to make a *śūrpa* (Fig. 6), a winnowing basket. The *dhamanī* (Fig. 7), a blow-pipe, was simply a hollow bamboo piece.

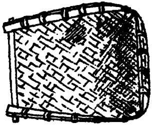


FIG. 6.—*Śūrpa.*



FIG. 7.—*Dhamanī.*

Grass.—*Darbha* or *kuśa* was the most sacred grass. It was used for strewing the altar, for cleansing the wooden and metallic vessels (see Fig. 8), for making ropes, purifying water, and for many other similar purposes. The *paśu-raśanā*, a rope for tying the animal to the post, had two



FIG. 8.—*Vedāgrāṇi*, cut off from the *veda* (the broom), and used for cleaning vessels.



FIG. 9.—*Śikya.*

strings, and was eight *aratnis* in length. The *yūpa-raśanā*, a rope for winding round the post, had three strings and was twelve *aratnis* long. The *muñja* (*Saccharum Munja*) grass was used for the *yoktra*, a rope for tying round the sacrificer's wife; and for *abhidhānī* and *nidāna*, ropes to tie the calf and the legs of the cow respectively. The *śikya* (Fig. 9), used for depositing the *ukhā-kumbhī*, was suspended by six or twelve ropes, the whole thing having been manufactured from *muñja*.

Metal.—Gold, silver, bronze, and copper were the metals used by the ancient Indians for making numerous kinds of vessels. But their use was not a common one. Generally wood or clay replaced them. The only instrument which was of necessity a metallic one was the *svadhiti* (Fig. 10), used in separating the different parts of the sacrificed animal.

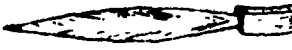


FIG. 10.—*Svadhiti.*

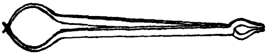


FIG. 11.—*Galagrahī.*

The *galagrahī* (Fig. 11) (for holding heated vessels) and the *tapanī* (a rod with a wooden handle and a butt end, which is

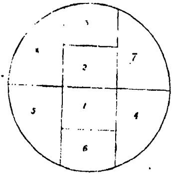


FIG. 12.—Eight *kapālas* (half-size).

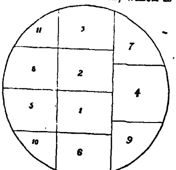


FIG. 13.—Eleven *kapālas* (half-size).

kept in the fire, and when the butter freezes in the ladle is used to melt it) are not ancient instruments.

Baked Clay.—More than three dozen of the vessels were of clay. Even the broken pieces (*kapālas*) were used for baking the *puroḍāśa*. Usually eight (Fig. 12) or eleven (Fig. 13) of these pieces were put together to form a circle, six *aṅgulas* in diameter.

The earthen vessels can be divided into big and small pots, either for holding liquids or for cooking them, deep and broad plates, and small round jars. The *pātrī* (Fig. 14) and *pājaka* (Fig. 15) are used for *puroḍāśa* and *brahmaudana* respectively. They might equally well be metallic.



FIG. 14.—*Pātrī*.



FIG. 15.—*Pājaka*.

The *śarāva* (Fig. 16), a saucer, is for carrying the live coals (*agni-praṇayana*).

The *kumbhīs* (Fig. 17), small round jars, are: *sāṃnāyya-kumbhī* (for milk and curd), *paśu-kumbhī* (for cooking parts of



FIG. 16.



FIG. 17.—*Kumbhī*.

the sacrificed animal; may also be metallic), and *dohana-kumbhī* (for milking).

Of similar form and size are the *yūṣa-pātra* and *yūpāñjanī*, the first to receive the *paśu-yūṣa*, the second to hold ghee for annointing the *yūpa*. The bigger jars (Figs. 18, 19) are :



FIG. 18.



FIG. 19.

pariṣecana-ghaṭa (holding water for sprinkling over the northern altar), *ekadhana-ghaṭa* (holding water for *soma-vardhana*), *ādhavanīya-ghaṭa* (holding *apūta-soma*; herein the soma plant is stirred and cleansed) and *pūta-bhṛt* (receiving the strained soma juice), and *vasatīvarī-ghaṭa* (for holding *vasatīvarī* water).

The vessels designated *sthālīs* are very often meant for heating and cooking. They are : *ājya-sthālī* (can also be of metal), *madantī-pātra* (for heating water; also metallic), *anvāhārya-sthālī* (for cooking *anvāhārya* rice; also metallic), *agnihotra-sthālī* (a pot used for cooking at the *agnihotra*; neither made by the potter nor on the wheel; *ūrdhva-kapālā*, equipped with a cover), *gaṇahomaudana-sthālī* (for cooking the *gaṇahoma* rice), *brahmaudana-sthālī* (for cooking *brahma* rice, also metallic), *aditi-caru-sthālī* (for cooking *aditi-caru*), *dadhi-sthālī* (for heating curd), *āgrayaṇa-sthālī* (for the *āgrayaṇa* libation), *ukthya-sthālī* (for the *uktha* libation), *āditya-sthālī* (for the *āditya graha*), *dhruva-sthālī* (for the *dhruva graha*), *pānnejanī-sthālī* (for waters used to wash the thighs of the sacrificer's wife), and *saumya-caru-sthālī* (for cooking *saumya caru*).

The common forms, besides the one given under *kumbhī*, are shown by Figs. 20 and 21. An interesting vessel is



FIG. 20.—Metallic.



FIG. 21.—Of clay or of metal.

the *mahāvīra*, used in the milk-offering ceremony. The drawing (Fig. 22), taken from the vessel in the Mīmāṃsā Vidyālaya at Poona, does not quite agree with the account: having three or five bulgings (*uddhi*), a *prādeśa* in height, *ūrdhva-sānu* (Monier-Williams, "having an elevated edge" ?), having a beak for pouring the milk, bent in the middle and resembling the *vāyavya-graha*.

The *rauhiṇa-kapālas* (Figs. 23, 24) are circular pieces of clay used for baking the *rauhiṇa-puroḍāśa*.



FIG. 22.



FIG. 23.



FIG. 24.

The *ukhā* (Fig. 25) is yet another vessel for fire. It is described as either circular or rectangular, a *prādeśa* high.

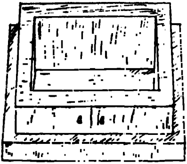
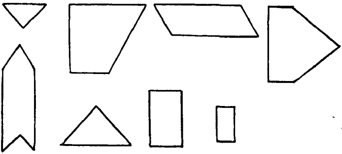


Fig. 25.—*Ukhā* (showing the upper two stages).

It is marked with two, four, or eight *stanas* (teats). The outside is formed by three, five, or even more stages.

Clay is also used in making bricks of different forms and sizes (Figs. 26–33) to suit the preparation of numerous kinds of altars, e.g. :-

26 27 28 29



30 31 32 33

Figs. 26–33.

Wood.—The last and the most important is wood. Most wooden implements and vessels have definite shape and dimensions.

We shall begin with the implements for churning fire. There is the lower piece (*adharāraṇi*, Fig. 34), of *aśvattha* (*Ficus*

Religiosa), preferably of one grafted on a *śamī* tree (*Prosopis Spicigera*), 24 *aṅgulas* long, 6 wide, and 4 high. On this fire is to be churned in the middle, barring 8 *aṅgulas* from one side and 12 from the other. This middle portion is called *deva-yoni*.

The upper piece (*uttarāraṇi*) is of equal dimensions with the lower one. It is not used by itself. It simply supplies smaller pieces, the *pramanthas* (Fig. 35), 8 × 2 × 2 *aṅgulas*, which are smoothed and fixed in the *cātra* (Fig. 35) and are used for churning fire. The *cātra* or *mantha* is prepared from *khadira* wood (*Acacia Catechu*). It is 12 *aṅgulas* long. The *pramantha* end is put on the *deva-yoni*, while the opposite end is fixed in the *Upamantha* (Fig. 36), which is held horizontally,

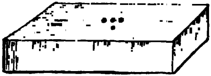


FIG. 34.—*Adharāraṇi*. In one of these holes (the *devayoni*) the fire is churned by the *pramantha* end of the *cātra*.



FIG. 35.—(*a*) *mantha* and (*b*) *pramantha* ; (*c*) the upper end.



FIG. 36.—*Upamantha*. (*a*) Holes in one of which the upper end of *mantha* is inserted ; (*bb*) the two ends are held firm by two hands.

parallel to the *adharāraṇi*. The *Upamantha* or *Ovilī* is also made of *khadira* and is likewise 12 *aṅgulas* in length. At the time of churning the fire one person holds firm the *upamantha*, and another person churns the *mantha* (in which the *pramantha* has been fixed) by means of a rope made of the cow's tail-hair and *śaṇa*.

The *sphya* (Figs. 37–9), a wooden sword made of *khadira*, an *aratni* or an arm long, has at least three different shapes.



Fig. 37.

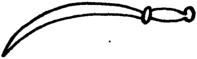


Fig. 38.



Fig. 39.



Fig. 40.—*Ulūkhala*.



Fig. 41.—*Musala*.

Of similar shape is the *svaru*, which is made from a piece cut from the sacrificial post (*yūpa*).

The mortar, *ulūkhala* (Fig. 40), is made out of the *varaṇa* (*Cratæva Roxburghii*) or *udumbara* (*Ficus Glomerata*), and is 12 *aṅgulas* in height. The pestle, *musala* (Fig. 41), is made out of *khadira* or any other holy wood. It is 36 *aṅgulas* long.

The *śamyā* (Fig. 42) is a long *khadira* staff of 36 *aṅgulas*, thicker at one end, and is placed under the *dṛṣad* to raise its triangular head side.

The *antardhānī* (Fig. 43) is made of holy wood, and is held erect by hand to avoid the offering being seen by others. See *Āpastamba Śrauta-sūtra*, iii, 9, 3.



FIG. 42.—*Śamyā*.

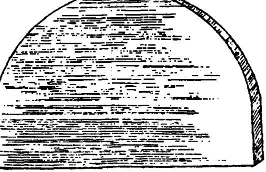
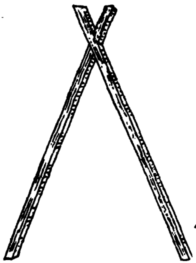


FIG. 43.—*Antardhānī*.

The *kastambhī* (Fig. 44) are two cross *khadira* sticks used as a prop for the yoke of a standing cart. It is used in the new and full-moon ritual. *Upastambhana* (Fig. 45) is the name given to the cross-sticks used in the soma ritual.

The cart, *śakaṭa* (Fig. 46), used for carrying rice, is made of *khadira* or some other holy wood. Its parts are: (*a*) *akṣa*, the axle; (*b*) *īṣā*, the two fork-shaped poles; (*c*) *yuga*,



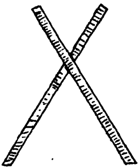


Fig. 45.—*Upastambhana.*

Fig. 44.—*Kastambhi.*

the yoke; (*d*) *cakra*, the two wheels; (*e*) *yuga-kīlaka* or *yuga-śamyā*, the yoke-pins; and (*f*) *akṣa-śamyā*, the axle-pin.

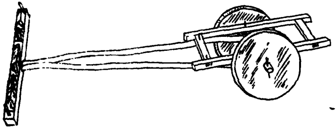


Fig. 46.

The staff (*daṇḍa*) made of *udumbara* (Fig. 47) is for protecting the *dīkṣita*. It reaches either up to the chin or up to the mouth.

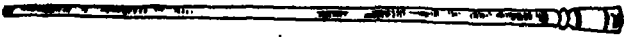


Fig. 47.—*Audumbara daṇḍa.*

Abhri (Fig. 48) is used to dig the earth. It can be made of several holy woods. Its length also varies considerably. It digs either from one end or from both.

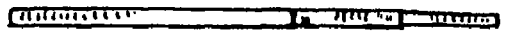


FIG. 48.—*Abhri.*

Upaveṣa is merely the green twig of some holy tree for removing the live coal. The length is an *aratni* or a *prādeśa*.

The *viṣṭutis* are *udumbara* pieces, about a *prādeśa* long, used in the counting of the *stotras*. With the recitation of every *stotra* one piece is laid aside.

The *vapā-śrapaṇī*, made of *Gmelina Arborea* (*kārṣmarya*), is usually described as *dvi-śūlā* (a two-pronged fork), on which the omentum is fried. But the *vapā-śrapaṇī* exhibited in the Vidyālaya at Poona is a triangle with seven nails. See Fig. 49.

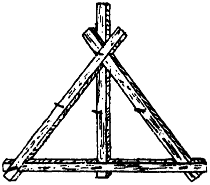


FIG. 49.

The two *śaphas* (Fig. 50), made of *udumbara*, are used by the *adhvaryu* and the *prasthātā* for holding and carrying the heated *mahāvīra* vessel.

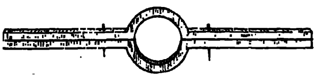


FIG. 50.

Vighana (Fig. 51) is a *khadira* hammer used to beat the earth.

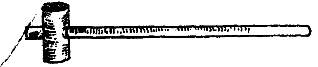


FIG. 51.

The axe, *paraśu* (Fig. 52), may be made out of any holy wood. It is used for cutting the tiny roots of plants within the altar.

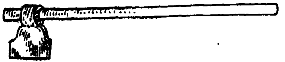


FIG. 52.

Hṛdaya-śūla is a spit for roasting the heart of a sacrificed animal. It may be made of any holy wood.

Mayūkhas are pegs to which calves and goats are tied. They may be made of any holy wood.

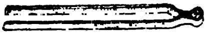


FIG. 53.

A pair of tongs, *saṃdaṃśa* (Fig. 53), is made either of *udumbara* or of metal. Nowadays the metallic is used.

The two *adhiṣavaṇa-phalakas* (Fig. 54) are made from

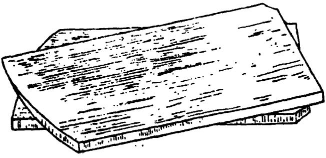


FIG. 54.—*Adhiṣavaṇa-phalake.*

udumbara, *kārṣmarya*, or *palāśa*. They are used for pressing the soma plant and extracting the juice.

There are four chairs, *rājāsandī* (Fig. 55), *samrāḍ-āsandī* (Fig. 56), *yajamānābhiṣekāsandī*, and *ukhāsandī* (Fig. 57).

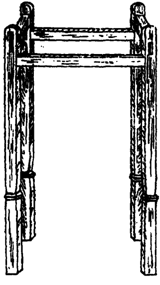


Fig. 55.—*Rājāsandī* (seat unstrung).

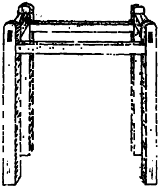


Fig. 56.—*Samrāḍ-āsandī* (seat unstrung).

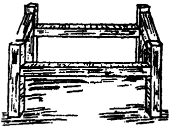


Fig. 57.—*Ukhāsandī* (seat unstrung).

They are all made of *udumbara*, and all have four legs. The *rājāsandī* is for placing the soma. Its legs reach up to the navel. *Muñja* ropes are used for stringing the seat. The *samrāḍ-āsandī* is meant for the placing of the *mahāvīra*. *Muñja* ropes are used only one way, and not cross-wise. The legs reach up to the knee. The third chair is for the bath of the sacrificer. The details are the same as in the *rājāsandī*. The *ukhāsandī* is for the placing of the *ukhā* fire. The seat is made either of *muñja* strings or of a wooden plank. The seat is, moreover, besmeared with mud. The legs are continued one *aratni* above the seat. Similarly in the *rājāsandī*.

There is a long series of ladles: (1) *Agnihotra-havanī* (Fig. 58), used in *Agnihotra*, made of *Flacourtia Sapida*

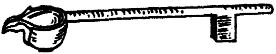


FIG. 58.

(*vikaṅkata*), an *aratni* long, having the beak of a swan, the cavity of the mouth half a *prādeśa*, and having a crow-tail; (2) *juhū*, made of *palāśa*; (3) *upabhṛt*, made of *aśvattha*; (4) *dhruvā*, made of *vikaṅkata*; (5) *aniṣṭubdhā*, used for the *rauhiṇa-kapāla-puroḍāśa*, made of *udumbara*, the surface of the mouth a plane (not having been carved into a cavity); (6) *upayamanī-sruk*, used in *pravargya-agnihotra*, made of *udumbara*, 36 *aṅgulas* long; (7) *prokṣaṇī-dhānī sruk*, used in sprinkling water over *pravargya-pātras*, made of *udumbara*; (8) *vasā-homa-havanī*, used in *vasā-homa*, made of *palāśa*; (9) *pṛṣadājya-dhānī*, used in *anuyāja-homa*, made of *aśvattha*; (10) *pracaraṇī*, used in *vyāghāraṇa-homa*, made of *palāśa*; (11) *vasor-dhārā-sruk*, used in *vasor-dhārā-homa*, made of *udumbara*, a *vyāyāma* long, covered over with mud. All these are the same in form and size (except where otherwise mentioned) as the *agnihotra-havannī*.

The *dohana-pātra* (Fig. 59), made of *varaṇa*, is used in milking. The forepart resembles the *agnihotra-havaṇī*.

The *utpavana-pātra* (Fig. 60), made of *varaṇa*, and used in the purification of water, is a *prādeśa* long (including the mouth), the cavity is 4 *aṅgulas*, and for the rest is the same as the *agnihotra-havaṇī*.

The *pariplavā* (Fig. 61), made of *khadira*, is used in *vyāghāraṇa*. It is the *agnihotra-havanī* without the handle.



FIG. 59.—*Dohana-pātra.*



FIG. 60.—*Utpavana-pātra.*



FIG. 61.—*Pariplavā.*

Another form of ladle is the *sruva* (Fig. 62). It is used for pouring butter offerings. It is made of *khadira*. The length is either an *aratni* or an arm. The cavity is very small, being only of the depth and width of a thumb. It is sometimes made of *udumbara*.

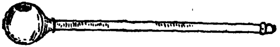


FIG. 62.

Still another variety is the *darvī* (Fig. 63), used in taking the *brahmaudana*.



FIG. 63.

The *mekṣaṇa* (Fig. 64) is a flat spoon, made of any holy wood.

The *dhṛṣṭi* (Fig. 65), which according to Monier-Williams's dictionary is a pair of tongs, is in my Poona drawings merely

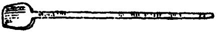


FIG. 64.—*Mekṣaṇa.*

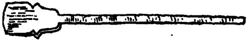


FIG. 65.—*Dhṛṣṭi.*

a copy of the *mekṣaṇa*. It is used for taking out ashes and similar other purposes.

Next we come to cups (Fig. 66). Three of them resemble the modern ones. They are (1) *yajamāna-bhāga-payaḥ-pātra*,

(2) *yajamāna-bhāga-dadhi-pātra*, cups for milk and curd used by the sacrificer, and (3) *āgnīdhra-bhāga-pātra*. All of them are manufactured out of the wood of a holy tree, and they do not differ in size or shape.

A similar cup may serve as *pidhāna-pātra*, a cover for the *kumbhī*. It can also be metallic.

Two joined cups (Fig. 67), made out of *Cratæva Roxburghii* (*varaṇa*) are intended for depositing rice chaff (including small grain particles) and kneaded rice-flour (*piṣṭa-lepa-phalīkaraṇa-pātra*).

The *prāśitra-haraṇa* (Fig. 68) is also a *khadira* cup made in the form of a cow's ear. It is used for the Brahman's portion of *havis*. It is a *prādeśa* long and has a small handle.



Fig. 66.



Fig. 67.



Fig. 68.

The common Vedic cup is the *camasa* :—

(1) *Tānūnaptra-camasa* (Fig. 69), made of *varaṇa*, a *prādeśa* long, the handle 3 *aṅgulas*, the cavity 6 *aṅgulas* wide and 4 *aṅgulas* deep.

(2) *Hotṛ-camasa* (Fig. 70), made of *Ficus Indica* (*nyagrodha*), the handle marked with a wheel.

(3) *Brahma-camasa* (Fig. 71), the handle four-sided (all the sides of equal expanse).

(4) *Udgātṛ-camasa* (Fig. 72), the handle three-sided.

(5) *Yajamāna-camasa* (Fig. 73), the handle flat (though four-sided).

(6) *Praśāstṛ-camasa* (Fig. 74), the handle *avataṣṭa*, "having a cut below." But the Poona collection shows the

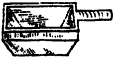


Fig. 69.
Tānūnaptra-camasa.

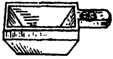


Fig. 70.
Hotṛ-camasa.



Fig. 71.
Brahma-camasa.

handle curved and bulging upwards. Cf. the next cup as well as the *neṣṭṛ-camasa.*

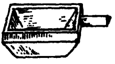


FIG. 72.
Udgātṛ-camasa.

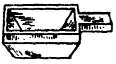


FIG. 73.
Yajamāna-camasa.

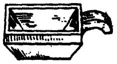


FIG. 74.
Praśāstṛ-camasa.

(7) *Brāhmaṇācchaṃsi-camasa* (Fig. 75), the handle *uttaṣṭa.*

(8) *Potṛ-camasa* (Fig. 76), the handle *viśākha,* "bifurcated."

(9) *neṣṭṛ-camasa* (Fig. 77), the handle *dakṣiṇa-vakra,* "bulging downwards."

(10) *Acchāvāka-camasa* (Fig. 78), the handle marked with a girdle (*rāśnā*).

(11) *Āgnīdhra-camasa* (Fig. 79), the handle as shown below (?).

(12) *Sadasya-camasa* (Fig. 80), the handle curved, bulging upwards.



FIG. 75.
Brāhmaṇācchaṃsi-camasa.

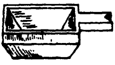


FIG. 76.
Potṛ-camasa.

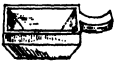


FIG. 77.
Neṣṭṛ-camasa.

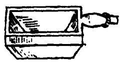


FIG. 78.
Acchāvāka-camasa.

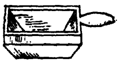


FIG. 79.
Āgnīdhra-camasa.

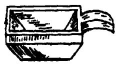


FIG. 80.
Sadasya-camasa.

(13) *Vājina-camasa* (Fig. 81), made of *nyagrodha* or *rohitaka* (*Andersonia Rohitaka*), the handle that of the *hotṛ-camasa*, but not marked with the wheel.

(14) *Udacana-camasa* (Fig. 82), made of *nyagrodha* or

rohitaka, the handle that of the *praṇītā-praṇayana* (but compare the drawings from Poona as given below).

The cups, 2–14, are in all details, which are not mentioned against their names, the same as the *tānūnaptra-camasa*.

The *praṇītā-praṇayana* (Fig. 83), used for water, is made of *varaṇa*. It might equally well be of bronze or of clay. The dimensions are the same as for the *tānūnaptra-camasa*.

The *iḍā-pātra* (Fig. 84) resembles a trough. It may be made of any holy wood. The entire length is 1 *aratni*. The cavity

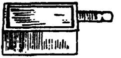


Fig. 81.
Vājina-camasa.



Fig. 82.
Udacana-camasa.



Fig. 83.

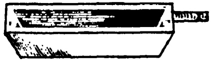


Fig. 84.—*Iḍā-pātra.*

is 4 or 6 *aṅgulas* wide, and 4 deep. It may or may not have a handle. If there is a handle, it is 4 *aṅgulas* long. In the other case the *iḍā-pātra* is held in the middle (*madhya-saṃgṛhītam*).

The last variety that we have to deal with are the vase-like cups called *grahas* :—

(1) *Upāṃśu-graha* (Fig. 85), used in *soma* ritual, made of *vikaṅkata* or any other holy wood, 1 *prādeśa* long, with a beak, inwardly curved in the middle, the cavity as required.

(2) *Antaryāma-graha* (Fig. 86), the same as *upāṃśu-graha*.

(3) *Aindravāyava-graha* (Fig. 87), marked with a girdle (shown in the illustration near the upper end).

(4) *Maitrāvaruṇa-graha* (Fig. 88), marked with goat's teats.

(5) *Āśvina-graha* (Fig. 89), bi-angled (*dvi-koṇaḥ*).

(6) *Śukra-graha* (Fig. 90), no distinctive mark or characteristic.

(7) *Manthi-graha* (Fig. 91), made only from *vikaṅkata* wood.

(8) *Ṛtupātra-graha* (Fig. 92), made of *aśvattha*, the bottom resembling a horse's hoof, having two beaks, one opposite the other (? *ubhayato-mukhaḥ*).

(9) *Pratiprasthātur ṛtupātra-graha* (Fig. 93), the same as above.

(10) *Ukthya-graha* (Fig. 94), no particular feature.

(11) *Atigrāhya-graha* (Fig. 95), no particular feature.

(12) *Dadhi-graha* (Fig. 96), made of *udumbara*, quadrangular in form.

(13) *Aṃśvadābhya-graha* (Fig. 97), the same as *dadhi-graha*.

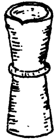


Fig. 85.
Upāṃśu-graha.



Fig. 86.
Antaryāma-gr.

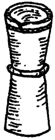


Fig. 87.
Aindravāyava-gr.



Fig. 88.
Maitrāvaruṇa-gr.



Fig. 89.
Āśvina-gr.

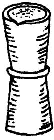


Fig. 90.
Śukra-gr.

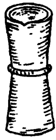


Fig. 91.
Manthi-gr.



Fig. 92.
Ṛtupātra-gr.

(14) *Āditya-graha* (Fig. 98), no particular feature.

(15) *Ṣoḍaśi-graha* (Fig. 99), made of *khadira*, quadrangular in form.

Grahas 2–15 are the same in material, form, and size as *graha* 1, except where it is otherwise stated.



FIG. 93. *Pratiprasthātur ṛtupātra-gr.*



FIG. 94. *Ukthya-gr.*



FIG. 95. *Atigrāhya-gr.*



FIG. 96. *Dadhi-gr.*



FIG. 97. *Aṃśvadābhya-gr.*

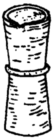


FIG. 98. *Āditya-gr.*

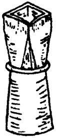


FIG. 99. *Ṣoḍaśi-gr.*

At the end I give the *yūpa* (Fig. 100), the post to which the sacrificial animal was tied. It was made of *khadira*, *bilva* (*Aegle Marmelos*), *palāśa*, or *rohitaka*. The length was 3 or 4 *aratnis*. It had eight sides. The lower portion was left rough. It tapered towards the top. At the top was the *caṣāla*, a wooden ring 13 *aṅgulas* high and hewn out of the *yūpa*-wood. I have no doubt but that the *yūpas* were prepared by skilful

artisans, though the Poona specimen is as crude as could ever be conceived:

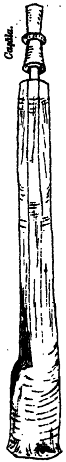


FIG. 100.

I here take the opportunity of thanking most cordially Messrs. Kinjavdekar Śāstrī and Rāma Dīkṣita, of the Poona Mimāṃsā Vidyālaya, for the facilities they offered me of witnessing and participating in the rituals, as well as of handling and taking drawings of their *yajña-pātras*.

The Ratnâvali of Nâgârjuna

By GIUSEPPE TUCCI

THE *Ratnāvalī* by Nāgārjuna was well known from the numerous quotations scattered in the Mahāyāna literature in India as well as in Tibet, but no manuscript of it was up to now available. Fortunately, Nepal, which has yielded so many treasures of ancient Indian literature, has recently rendered back to light a large fragment of this work, the importance of which cannot be overlooked by scholars. Nāgārjuna was certainly one of the greatest thinkers ever born in India, and whatever was written by him deserves our greatest attention. His thought has permeated, as it were, not only the Abhidharma of Mahāyāna, but also the mystical experiences of the Tantric systems. Therefore we must welcome anything written by him, because it will help our understanding of Buddhist, and therefore of Indian, mind.

The palmleaf-manuscript of the *Ratnāvalī* is but a fragment,[1] but it will not be difficult to restore the missing portions after the Tibetan translation of the same text preserved in the *bsTan ạgyur* (*mdo. ạgrel*, vol. हे, fol. 124).[2] I begin by giving an edition and a translation of the first chapter, by far the most important from the *ādhyātmika* point of view. It is, in fact, from this that later authors chiefly draw their quotations of the *Ratnāvalī*. The other chapters will follow in the next issue.

The small work is, in fact, one of those *abrégés* of the doctrine, usually in the form of letters, *lekha*, of which we know other examples from the pen of the same Nāgārjuna, from Candragomin, etc. But the *Ratnāvalī* is styled a *rāja-parikathā*, that is, a discourse to a king. Who this king was is not expressed

[1] 1–23 leaves, of which 5, 8–14 and 22 are missing.

[2] There is a commentary on our text by Ajitamitra, to be found in the same volume of the *bsTan ạgyur*.

in the text itself, but we know from the commentator Ajitamitra that he was the same to whom, according to the Chinese and the Tibetan tradition, the *Śiṣyalekha* was directed, I mean *bDe spyod*. Whether this Tibetan form may correspond to *Śātavāhana*, the name of the patron, according to the tradition, of Nāgārjuna, is a question still open to discussion.[1]

|| Namo ratnatrayāya ||

Sarvadoṣavinirmuktaṃ guṇaiḥ sarvair alaṃkṛtaṃ |
praṇamya sarvajñam ahaṃ sarvasattvaikabāndhavaṃ || 1.
dharmam ekāntakalyāṇaṃ rāja [n dha] rmodayāya te |
vakṣyāmi dharmaḥ siddhiṃ hi yāti saddharmabhājane || 2.
prāg dharmābhyudayo yatra paścān naiḥśreyasodayaḥ |
samprāpyābhyudayaṃ yasmād eti naiḥśreyasaṃ kramāt. || 3.
sukham abhyudaya[s tatra mokṣo] naiḥśreyaso mataḥ |
asya sādhanasaṃkṣepaḥ śraddhāprajñe samāsataḥ || 4.

1-2. Having paid homage to the All-knower, the only friend of all living beings, who is devoid of every defect, but adorned with every good attribute, I shall expound for thy spiritual profit, O king, the law which is altogether propitious. Nay, the law brings forth its fruit (when the seed is planted in him) who is worthy of receiving the supreme law (as thou art).[2]

3. Whenever there is perfection in the law, the supreme happiness of salvation will also appear later on, because those who have reached the perfect life (which is the consequence of the practice of the law) will gradually attain to salvation.[3]

[1] In the course of this paper, the following abbreviations are used: *TSP.* = *Tattvasaṅgrahapañjikā*, of Kamalaśīla (Gaekwad's Oriental Series); *PP.* = *Prasannapadā* by Candrakīrti the commentary upon the *Mūlamādhyamikakārikā* (Bibliotheca Buddhica); *BCAP.* = *Bodhicaryāvatārapañjikā* (Bibliotheca Indica).

[2] *Ekāntakalyāṇam* means, as the commentator explains, that it is *ādimadhyāntakalyāṇa* that is propitious from beginning to end.

2 *b.* restored after the Tibetan *rgyal po k'yod la c'os bsgrub pai p'yir.*

[3] The way to salvation is represented by the Transcendental Wisdom, *prajñā*, the teaching of which cannot be imparted to those who are not yet ripe to receive it. The *puṇya-sambhāra*, or moral purification, must therefore always precede the investigation of the *śūnyatā*, viz. the doctrine of the

śrāddhatvād bhajate dharmaṃ prājñatvād vetti tattvataḥ |
prajñā pradhānaṃ tv anayoḥ śraddhā pūrvaṅgamāsya tu || 5.
chandād dveṣād bhayān mohād yo dharmaṃ nātivartate |
sa śrāddha iti vijñeyaḥ śreyaso bhājanaṃ param || 6.
kāyavāṅmānasaṃ karma sarvaṃ samyak parīkṣya yaḥ |
parātmahitam ājñāya sadā kuryāt sa paṇḍitaḥ || 7.
ahiṃsā cauryaviratiḥ paradāravivarjanam |
mithyāpaiśunyapāruṣyābaddhavādeṣu saṃyamaḥ || 8.

4. Indeed, perfect life is considered to be happiness and salvation to be final emancipation from contingent life. The concise enunciation of the method of realizing that is summarized in faith and wisdom.[1]

5. In so far as a man is possessed of faith, he becomes a partaker of the law; in so far as he is possessed of wisdom he apprehends according to truth. Of the two virtues wisdom is the foremost; faith, however, comes first.

6. He who does not transgress the law on account of worldly cravings, hatred, fear, and mental bewilderment must be considered as a man possessed of faith; nobody is a fitter recipient than he for salvation.[2]

non-existence of independent things. Later schools of Mahāyāna will also state that the path to salvation is twofold, in so far as it consists of *upāya* praxis and *prajñā*. For Nāgārjuna, the *upāya* is not yet *karuṇā*, as in the mystic sects alluded to, but chiefly *śraddhā*, faith, upon which he largely insists in his *Ta che tu lun*, the big commentary upon the *Prajñā-pāramitā*. We have in either case a single path divided into two moments differently called :—

puṇya-saṃbhāra :	*jñāna-saṃbhāra* :
abhyudaya	*naiḥśreyasa*
sukha	*mokṣa*
śraddhā	*prajñā*
upāya	*śūnyatā*
karuṇā	

[1] *Tatra mokṣo* restored from Tibetan : *de la mṅon mt'o bde ba ste ṅes par legs pa t'ar par ḥdod*. As suggested by the commentator, the real meaning is that *abhyudaya* is not happiness, nor is *naiḥśreyasa* final emancipation, but rather happiness and emancipation are to be understood as the result of them.

[2] From here up to verse 24, *śraddhā*, viz. its effect, I mean the practice of the law is described, which coincides with *abhyudaya*. *Chanda*, *dveṣa*, *bhaya* and *moha* are symbolized by the four Māras who keep away men from the observance of the moral rules as laid down in the law.

7. One must carefully examine whether actions deriving from one's own body, words, thoughts, are good or not and, having settled what is good for others and for oneself, this only one must always do ; then he is indeed a wise man.[1]

lobhavyāpādanāstik[yadṛṣṭīnāṃ parivarjanaṃ |
ete karmapathā] śuklā daśa kṛṣṇā viparyayāt || 9.
amadyapānaṃ svājīvo 'vihiṃsā dānam ādarāt |
pūjyapūjā ca maitrī ca dharmaś caiṣa samāsataḥ || 10.
śarīratāpanād dharmaḥ kevalān [nāsti tena hi] |
[2,a] na paradrohaviratir na pareṣām anugrahaḥ | 11.
dānaśīlakṣamāspaṣṭaṃ yaḥ saddharmamahāpatham |
anādṛtya vrajet kāyakleśago daṇḍakotpathaiḥ || 12.
sa saṃsārāṭavīṃ ghorām anantajanapādapām |
kleśavyālāvalīḍhāṅgaḥ sudīrghaṃ pratipadyate || 13.

8. Refraining from killing living beings, from theft and from adultery, control over one's own words so as to avoid any false or slandering or cruel or futile speech[2];

9. Complete abstaining from covetousness, hatred, and wrong views denying the existence of karman: these ten virtues constitute the tenfold pure conduct. The actions opposed to these constitute the tenfold impure conduct.[3]

10. Not drinking intoxicating liquors, lawful livelihood, hurting nobody, kindness in giving, reverence towards those deserving reverence, and universal sympathy, this is in short the law.[4]

[1] The *parīkṣā* consists in examining whether a certain *karman* is moral, *kuśala*, immoral, *akuśala*, or indifferent, *avyākṛta*. Then the man is in a state of complete consciousness and presence of spirit, which is called the *samprajanya* or *apramāda*. This *parīkṣā* is expounded in the following *ślokas*.

[2] Up to adultery, the author enumerates the three bodily actions to be avoided: then the four *vāk-karman*, and, in the first half of *śloka* 9, the three mental actions, altogether the ten abstentions from immoral deeds.

[3] Tibetan :—

c'ags daṅ gnod sems med pa la |
ñid kyi lta ba yoṅs spaṅ ba ||
ḍdi dag las lam dkar bcu ste |

[4] The secondary injunctions are here enumerated.

11. Through penances alone inflicted upon the body one cannot get at the law; by that method one is unable either to stop doing harm to others or to benefit them.[1]

himsayā jāyate 'lpāyuḥ bahvābādho vihiṃsayā |
cauryeṇa bhogavyasanī saśa[truḥ] paradārikaḥ || 14.
pratyākhyānaṃ mṛṣāvādāt paiśunyāt mitrabhedanam |
apriyaśravaṇaṃ raukṣyād abāddhād durbhagaṃ vacaḥ 15.
manorathān hanty abhidhyā vyāpādo bhayadaḥ smṛtaḥ |
mithyādṛṣṭiḥ kudṛṣṭitvaṃ madyapānaṃ matibhramaḥ 16.

12–13. Those men who, disregarding the great road of the supreme law, clear on account of generosity, moral conduct, and patience, wander through the wrong paths of that wilderness which are bodily penancy, enter indeed a terrific forest, viz. the *saṃsāra* which has infinite rebirths as its trees, while beasts of prey, namely moral defilements, lick their limbs.[2]

14. Those who kill any living being shall have a short life in a new existence; those who do harm to others shall suffer many offences; by stealing one shall be thwarted in worldly enjoyments; an adulterer shall get enemies.[3]

15. The fruit of telling falsehood is repulse, of slandering breaking the friendship, of cruel speech hearing things unpleasant, of futile expressions unfortunate words.

16. Covetousness causes the failing of every desire,

[1] MS. not clear. Tibetan :—

lus gduṅ byed pa ḍba'žig las |
c'os med ḍdi ltar de yis ni ||

This *śloka* is directed against the yoga-practices of those sects in whose minds *dharma* consisted chiefly in severe asceticism and penances, viz. Ājīvakas and Nirgranthas.

[2] Having thus expounded the very essence of the law, the author shows the *vipāka* or consequence of *karman*, so that everybody may be careful about the *parīkṣā* of what he is doing; *śloka* 13, *a*, *b*.

Restored from Tibetan :—

ḍk'or bai ḍbrog ni mi bzad pai |
mt'a' yas skye ba šiṅ can du |

godaṇḍaka is for : *gokaṇṭaka*

[3] Restored from Tibetan : *byi bo byed pas dgra daṅ bcas.* This *śloka* expounds the *vipāka* of immoral bodily actions; the *śloka* 14th, that of actions derived from one's own speech, the 15th, that of mental actions.

hatred is said to be the source of fears, wrong views produce incapacity of seeing aright, drinking of intoxicating liquors is the cause of mental confusion.

apradānena dāridryaṃ mithyājivena vañcanā |
stambhena duḥkulīnatvam alpaujaskatvam īrṣayā || 17.
krodhād durvarṇatā maurkhyam apraśnena vipaścitām |
phalam etan manuṣyatve sarvebhyaḥ prāk ca durgatiḥ || 18.
eṣāṃ akuśalākhyānāṃ vipāko yaḥ prakīrtitaḥ |
kuśalānāṃ ca sarveṣāṃ viparītaḥ phalodayaḥ || 19.
lobho dveṣaś ca mohas ca tajjaṃ karmeti cāśubham |
alobhāmohādveṣāś ca tajjaṃ karmetarac chubhaṃ || 20.
aśubhāt sarvaduḥkhāni sarvadurgatayas tathā |
śubhāt sugatayaḥ sarvāḥ sarvajanmasukhāni ca || 21.

17. Avarice is the cause of poverty, bad livelihood of being deceived, pride of low birth, envy of scanty personal strength.

18. Anger of bad colour; stupidity is derived from not asking wise men (about the law); this fruit is ripened when one is reborn as a man; but first of all there is the rebirth in bad conditions of existence.[1]

19. All those sins are called vices; their consequence has been explained above. All virtuous actions bring forth an effect quite contrary to that.

20. Covetousness, hatred, bewilderment, and karman derived from that are sinful; absence of covetousness, hatred, bewilderment, and karman derived from that are sinless.

21. From sinfulness every pain and every unhappy destiny

[1] Bad conditions of existence are: rebirth in the hells, among beasts and ghosts. According to the Abhidharma the effect of our actions is, in fact, triple: the first is rebirth in the various conditions of existence according to the *karman* of a previous life; the second is an effect of compensation, viz. the necessity of undergoing the same experiences of which we have been the cause to others; the third effect affects the entourage and the physical surroundings in which we shall have a rebirth. "Colour" means also "caste".

are derived; from sinlessness every happy destiny and every pleasure in life are derived.

nivṛttir [2, b] aśubhāt kṛtsnāt pravṛttis tu śubhe sadā |
manasā karmaṇā vācā dharmo 'yaṃ dvividhaḥ smṛtaḥ || 22.
narakapretatiryagbhyo dharmād asmād vimucyate |
nṛṣu deveṣu cāpnoti sukhaśrīrājyavistarān || 23.
dhyānāpramāṇārūpyais tu brahmādyasukham aśnute |
ityabhyudayadharmo 'yaṃ phalaṃ cāsya samāsataḥ || 24.
naiḥśreyasaḥ punar dharmaḥ sūkṣmo gambhīradarśanaḥ |
bālānāṃ [aśrotravatām] uktas trāsakāro jinaiḥ || 25.
nāsmy ahaṃ na bhaviṣyāmi na me 'sti na bhaviṣyati |
iti bālasya santrāsaḥ paṇḍitasya bhayakṣayaḥ || 26.

22. Refraining from every sinfulness and constant practice of sinlessness with mind, body, and word: this is styled the twofold law.

23. By this law one is saved from being born in the hells and among ghosts and beasts; nay, one gets plentifulness of joys, glory, and kingly power both among men and gods.

24. One gets the happiness of the gods, Brahmā, etc., through the four meditations, the four immeasurable experiences, and the four absorptions in the immaterial spheres; this is in short the law of the blissful life and its fruits.

25. On the other hand, the law of salvation consisting in the subtle and deep vision [of reality] was said by the Victorious ones to be terrific to foolish men who have not ears [prepared to hear it].[1]

ahaṃkāraprasūteyaṃ mamakāropasaṃhitā |
prajā prajāhitaikāntavādinā 'bhihitā khila || 27.
asty ahaṃ mama cāstīti mithyaitat paramārthataḥ |

[1] Now Nāgārjuna expounds what is salvation and the way which leads to it, viz. *prajñā*, whose essence consists in the doctrine of the voidness of everything and which, on account of its depth, is likely to fill with fear those who are not yet fit to hear it. Therefore the teaching of Buddha is always based upon the knowledge of the moral and mental preparation of his disciples and hearers, *upāya-kauśalya*.

25, c. is restored from Tibetan: *byis pa t'os daṅ mi ldan pa*. So in the commentary, while the text of the *kārikās* has wrongly *daṅ mig ldan pa*.

yathābhūtaparijñānān na bhavaty ubhayam yataḥ || 28.
ahaṃkārodbhavāḥ skandhāḥ, so 'haṃkāro 'nṛto 'rthataḥ |
bījaṃ yasyānṛtaṃ tasya prarohaḥ satyataḥ kutaḥ || 29.
skandhān asatyān dṛṣṭvaivam ahaṃkāraḥ prahīyate |
ahaṃkāraprahāṇāc ca na punaḥ skandhasaṃbhavaḥ || 30.
yathādarśam upādāya [svamukhapratibimbakam |
dṛśya]te nāma tac caivam na kiṃcid api tattvataḥ || 31.

26. When the foolish man hears the utterance: "I am not, I never shall be, nothing belongs nor ever will belong to me" he is stricken with fear, while the wise man gets over every fear.[1]

27. The Buddha, who utters exclusively what is good to creatures, has stated them to be the offspring of the error that there is an ego and something belonging to the ego.[2]

28. From the point of view of the absolute truth it is wrong to say that there is an ego or that there is something belonging to the ego, because both these assumptions are impossible when one has fully understood the reality of things.[3]

29. The groups forming a person are originated from the assumption of a personality, but this personality is, from the standpoint of the absolute truth, unreal; then, if the seed of something is unreal, how can its sprout be real?[4]

[1] This verse is quoted in *TSP.*, p. 866, and *BCAP.*, p. 449.

[2] For the wise man there is no fear, because, having realized the truth of this doctrine, he gets over any attachment to the idea of the personality or of something belonging to it, and therefore the *saṃsāra*, which is the first cause of fear, vanishes for him. But for the others—as explained in the following *śloka*—the *saṃsāra* will continue to exist, in so far it is a mere creation of their wrong assumption of a personality and of the existence of things.

[3] The sentence: "From the point of view of the absolute truth" implies that the ego, etc., may be said to exist only from the point of view of the conventional worldly truth, *samvṛti*, *loka*, *vyavahāra-satya*.

[4] The five groups are, as known, *rūpa*, *vedanā*, *saṃjñā*, *saṃskāra*, and *vijñāna*. *Arthataḥ* is, according to the commentator, to be taken in the sense of *paramārthataḥ*. The verse is quoted, as taken from the *Ratnāvalī*, by Candrakirti *PP.*, pp. 346 and 458. The author wants to demonstrate that the notion of the *groups* is dependent upon that of personality and vice versa, so that neither is self-existent.

ahaṃkāras tathā skandhān upādāyopalabhyate |
na ca kaścit sa tattvena svamukhapratibimbavat || 32.
yathādarśam anādāya svamukhapratibimbakam |
na dṛśyate tathā skandhān [3, a] anādāyāham ity api || 33.
evaṃvidhārthaśravaṇād dharmacakṣur avāptavān |
Āryānandaḥ svayaṃ caiva bhikṣubhyo 'bhīkṣṇam uktavān || 34.
skandhagrāho yāvad asti tāvad evāham ity api |
ahaṃkāre sati punaḥ karma janma tataḥ punaḥ. || 35.

30. If one considers the groups as unreal, the assumption of a personality is abandoned; when the assumption of a personality is abandoned there is no more room for the groups.[1]

31. Just as through the medium of a mirror one sees the reflex of one's own face, though it is in fact nothing real,

32. even so one perceives the personality through the medium of the groups, though, in truth, it is nothing real, but like the reflex of the face.

33. Just as without the medium of a mirror no reflex of the face can be seen, even so without the medium of the groups, the personality cannot be perceived.

34. The noble Ānanda having heard from the Buddha such tenets, obtained himself the insight into the law and over and over repeated them to the monks.

trivartmaitad anādyantamadhyaṃ saṃsāramaṇḍalaṃ |
alātamaṇḍalaprakhyaṃ bhramaty anyonyahetukaṃ || 36.
svaparobhayatas tasya traikālyato 'py aprāptitaḥ
ahaṃkāraḥ kṣayaṃ yāti tataḥ karma ca janma ca || 37.
evaṃ hetuphalotpādaṃ paśyaṃs tatkṣayaṃ eva ca |
nāstitām astitāṃ caiva naiti lokasya tattvataḥ || 38.
sarvaduḥkhakṣayaṃ dharmaṃ śrutvaivam aparīkṣakaḥ |
saṃkampaty aparijñānād abhayasthānakātaraḥ || 39.

35. The assumption of an ego exists as long as there is

[1] This *śloka* is also quoted in *PP.*, pp. 346 and 458. Verses 31–4 are quoted by Candrakīrti in *PP.*, p. 345.

the assumption of the five groups; when there is the assumption of an ego there is again karman, and from this a new birth.

36. This whirl of life which has no beginning, no middle, and no end, like a whirling firebrand, whirls round with its three successions (personality, karman, and birth), which are the cause one of the other.

37. In so far as the ego cannot be demonstrated as being produced either by itself or by another or both by itself and another, nor as being produced either in the past or in the present or in the future, the ego vanishes; then karman and lastly new birth.[1]

38. When a man has recognized [that the idea of] the growth of cause and effect and [that of] their destruction must be understood in this way, he cannot maintain either that this world is not or that it is in reality.

na bhaviṣyati nirvāṇe sarvam etan na te bhayam |
ucyamāna ihābhāvas tasya te kiṃ bhayaṃkaraḥ || 40.
mokṣe nātmā na ca skandhā mokṣaś ced īdṛṣaḥ priyaḥ |
ātmaskandhāpanayanaṃ kim ihaiva tavāpriyaṃ || 41.
na cābhāvo 'pi nirvāṇaṃ kuta eva tasya bhāvatā |
bhāvābhāvaparāmarśakṣayo nirvāṇam ucyate || 42.

[1] It is not produced by itself on account of two laws admitted by Nāgārjuna and his followers, viz. that of *abhūtvā abhāva* and that of *svātmani virodhāt*. Whatever was in a previous moment non-existent is devoid of self-existence and therefore cannot come to existence by its own agency; nor can existence be active upon itself. It cannot be produced by another, because the idea of cause is equally an antinomy; in fact the cause is such, only in relation to its effect. But, then, as long as the effect is not produced it is absurd to speak of cause, and, if this cause is non-existent, *a fortiori* the effect will be non-existent.

The third antinomy: "neither by itself nor by another," is evident, being the consequence of the two others. To the refutation of the idea of time Nāgārjuna has dedicated the second chapter of his *Mādhyamikakārikās*. The meaning is that it is not produced in the past, because whatever is past is no longer active, nor in the future, because it would be like the birth of a child from a barren woman, nor in the present because the present has no duration. The conclusion of this is that it is impossible to demonstrate either that there is a producer or that there is a thing produced.

samāsān nāstitādṛṣṭiḥ phalaṃ nāstīti karmaṇaḥ |
apuṇyāpāyikī caiṣā mithyādṛṣṭir iti smṛtā || 43.
samāsād astitādṛṣṭiḥ phalaṃ cāstīti karmaṇām |
puṇyā sugatiniṣyandā samyagdṛṣṭir iti smṛtā || 44.

39. But, if a man lacking discrimination hears this law which puts an end to all sorrows, he, on account of his ignorance, fears a place where there is nothing to be feared, and trembles.[1]

40. When they say that all this will not exist in the nirvāṇa, this tenet does not make you afraid; but when we state that here everything is not existent, how is it that this statement fills you with fear ?[2]

41. In the condition of salvation (as you believe it to be) there are neither the groups nor the ego. But if such a kind of salvation is dear to you why do you not like the elimination of the individual ego and of the groups in this very existence [as preached by our doctrine] ?

jñāne [3, b] nāstyastitāśānteḥ pāpapuṇyavyatikramaḥ |
durgateḥ sugateś cāsmāt sa mokṣah sadbhir ucyate || 45.
sahetum udayaṃ paśyan nāstitām ativartate |
astitām api nopaiti nirodhaṃ saha hetunā || 46.
prāgjātaḥ sahajātaś ca hetur ahetuko 'rthataḥ |
prajñapter apratītatvād utpatteś caiva tattvataḥ 47.

42. But nirvāṇa is not even non-existence; how can it be existence ? nirvāṇa is called the suppression of any notion of existence and non-existence.[3]

[1] The place where there is nothing to be feared is *nirvāṇa*, which is suppression of the personality.

[2] The sentence : "All this" is the whirl of cause and effect. The *nirvāṇa* referred to is evidently the aupaniṣadic *nirvāṇa*. The author asks his supposed opponent why, though going after the aupaniṣadic *nirvāṇa*, which is suppression of every personality, is he, nevertheless, unwilling to accept this doctrine which makes the realization of *nirvāṇa* possible in this very life.

[3] Now Nāgārjuna, having referred to *nirvāṇa*, states, in order to avoid any misunderstanding, that *nirvāṇa* which he describes is not like the *nirvāṇa* of the other schools, but it is beyond the notion of existence and non-existence. The verse is quoted in *PP.*, p. 525.

43. To say it in a few words, the nihilistic view consists in denying that karman brings forth its effect. This view is sinful and causes rebirth in the hells. It is called a wrong view.[1]

44. To say it in a few words, the realistic view consists in affirming that karman brings forth its effect. It is meritorious and causes rebirth in happy conditions of existence. It is called the right view.

45. But when through the right knowledge one has suppressed any notion of existence or non-existence, one is beyond sin and virtue. Therefore the saints say that this is the salvation from good as well as from bad conditions of existence.

46. In so far as one recognizes that any origin has its cause, one gets rid of the nihilistic view, and in so far as one understands that there is a destruction of things determined by causes one gets rid of the realistic view.[2]

asmin satīdaṃ bhavati dīrghe hrasvaṃ yathā sati |
[tasyotpādād udetīdaṃ dīpotpādād yathā] prabhā || 48.
hrasve 'sati punar dīrghaṃ na bhavati svabhāvataḥ |
pradīpasyāpy anutpādāt prabhāyā apy asaṃbhavaḥ || 49.
evaṃ hetuphalotpādaṃ dṛṣṭvā nopaiti nāstikyaṃ |
abhyupetyāsya lokasya yāthābhūtyaṃ prapañcajam || 50.
nirodhaṃ ca prapañcotthaṃ yāthābhūtyād upāgataḥ |
nopayāty astitāṃ tasmān mucyate 'dvayaniśritaḥ || 51.

47. If a cause is born before the effect or along with it, in both cases, from the standpoint of the absolute truth it cannot be the cause. In fact, the notion of birth cannot

[1] Up to this point Nāgārjuna has denied the existence of every thing; so the objection of the opponent, viz. that his doctrine is simple nihilism must be expected. The author therefore meets this argument and after defining what are, according to him, nihilism and realism, shows that his system is neither of them.

[2] Of course, the notion of cause belongs to the *saṃvṛtisatya*, viz. to the relative truth, because, as stated in the following verse, from the *paramārtha* point of view, viz. from the point of the absolute truth, the notion of cause is absurd.

be conceived either from the conventional or from absolute point of view.[1]

48. The notion of relation may be expressed in this way : When this thing exists this other thing also exists, for example, the idea of short in relation to that of long ; when this thing is produced this other thing also is produced, for example, the light when there is a lamp.[2]

49. If there is not the idea of short there cannot be that of long, as a self-existent thing ; if there is no lamp it is impossible to have any light.[3]

50. When one understands that the origin of the notions of cause and effect is like this, one cannot be the follower of the nihilistic view, in so far as he admits that the real nature of this world consists in the display of subjective differentiation.

durād ālokitaṃ rūpam āsannair dṛśyate sphuṭam |
marīcir yadi vāri syād āsannaiḥ kiṃ na dṛśyate || 52.
dūrībhūtair yathābhūto loko 'yaṃ dṛśyate tathā |
na dṛśyate tadāsannair animitto marīcivat || 53.
[marīcis toyasadṛśī yathā nāmbo na] cārthataḥ |
skandhās tathātmasadṛśā nātmāno nāpi te 'rthataḥ || 54.
marīciṃ toyam ity etad iti matvāgato 'tra san |
yadi nāstīti tat toyaṃ [gṛhṇīyān mūḍha eva saḥ || 55.
marīcipratimaṃ lo]kam [4, a] evam astīti gṛhṇataḥ |
nāstīti cāpi moho 'yaṃ sati mohe na mucyate || 56.

[1] Since the cause is called a cause in so far as it produces an effect, if it exists before the production of this effect, that cause cannot be the cause of this effect, because it would have no relation to it.

[2] *a, b* is quoted in *PP.*, p. 10, where we read : *hrasve dīrghaṃ yathā sati* ; the Tibetan supposes *dīrghe hrasvaṃ yathā sati*. *riṅ po yod pas t'uṅ du bžin.* *c, d*—almost effaced ; Tibetan : *ạdi skyes pas na ạdi skyes dper.* Here Nāgārjuna states that if the notion of cause and effect is antinomical, the origin of things can only be explained according to the law of the *pratītyasamutpāda*, viz. of relativity.

[3] The same must be understood as regards the notion of "short" and that of "lamp". In the sphere of material experience things are interrelated, though, from the standpoint of the absolute truth, they are devoid of any essence.

51. Destruction also is derived from the display of subjective differentiation, and therefore one cannot admit that it is something real in itself. In such a way one does not become a follower of the realistic doctrine. Therefore, in so far as one has taken standpoint in neither view, one attains to salvation.

52. A form seen from afar becomes manifest to the eyes when one gets near to it. If a mirage were really water, how is it that this cannot be seen when one gets near ? [1]

53. This world does not appear to those who are far away [from the truth] as it appears to those who are near [to it]—that is like a mirage devoid of specific characteristics.

54. Just as a mirage looks like water but it is neither water nor something real, in the same way the groups look like the ego, but in fact they are neither the ego nor something real.

nāstiko durgatiṃ yāti sugatiṃ yāti cāstikaḥ |
yathābhūtaparijñānān mokṣam advayaniśritaḥ || 57.
anicchan nāstitāstitve yathābhūtaparijñayā |
nāstitāṃ labhate mohāt kasmān na labhate 'stitāṃ || 58.
syād astidūṣaṇād asya nāstitā''kṣipyate 'rthataḥ |
nāstitādūṣaṇād eva kasmān nā''kṣipyate 'stitā || 59.
na pratijñā na caritaṃ na cittaṃ bodhiniśrayāt |
nāstikatve'rthato yeṣāṃ kathaṃ te nāstikāḥ smṛtāḥ || 60.

55. If a man [seeing from afar] a mirage, believing that it is water, goes near to it and then thinks that there there is no water, this man is a fool.[2]

56. So, when a man takes this world, which is similar to a mirage, to be either existent or non-existent that man is under the influence of bewilderment. But if there is bewilderment there is no salvation.

[1] The verses 52-4 are quoted by Candrakīrti, *PP.*, p. 347, as from the Acāryapāda, the verses 55-6 are quoted by Candrakīrti as taken from the *Ratnāvali*, *PP.*, p. 188.

[2] Because he did not yet realize that it was a mirage which he saw, and water, therefore, is out of question.

57. The nihilist is bound to be reborn in bad conditions of existence, the realist will be reborn in good conditions of existence. But those who have understood the things as they really are attain to salvation, in so far as they have taken their standpoint in neither view.

58. Those who, unwilling to conceive existence and non-existence according to their real nature (as stated by us), state, on account of their ignorance, [that nirvāṇa is] non-existence why they do not state that it is existence ?

Sasāṃkhyaulūkyanirgranthapudgalaskandhavādinam |
pṛccha lokaṃ yadi vadaty astināstivyatikramam || 61.
dharmayautakam ity asmān nāstyastitvavyatikramam |
viddhi gaṃbhīram ity uktaṃ buddhānāṃ śāsanāmṛtam || 62.
vibhavaṃ naiti nāyāti na tiṣṭhaty api cakṣaṇam |
traikālyavyativṛttātmā loka eva kutò 'rthataḥ || 63.
dvayor apy āgatigatī prasthitiś ca na tattvataḥ |
lokanirvāṇayos tasmād viśeṣaḥ ka ivārthataḥ || 64.

59. If you object that by the refutation of the existence its non-existence is logically implicit, why then refutation of non-existence would not imply existence ? [1]

60. [For us] there is no thesis to be demonstrated, no rules of conduct, and on account of our taking shelter in the supreme illumination, not even mind, our doctrine is really the doctrine of nothingness. How then can we be called nihilists ? [2]

61. You may ask the common people along with its philosophers either the Sāṃkhyas or the Vaiśeṣikas or the Jainas or those who maintain the existence of a personality as represented by the five groups whether they preach a doctrine like ours beyond the dualism of existence and non-existence.[3]

[1] That is, it is impossible to affirm existence or non-existence, because this affirmation implies logically its contrary.

[2] Of course, all this from the standpoint of absolute truth, not from that of conventional truth. Nihilism is in fact, affirmation of a negation, but for Nāgārjuna truth is beyond either negation or affirmation.

[3] Quoted in *PP.*, p. 275, as taken from the *Ratnāvalī*.

62. Therefore you must realize that this present of the law going beyond any dualism of existence and non-existence is the ambrosia of the teaching of the Buddhas known as the deep one.

sthiter abhāvād udayo nirodhaś ca na tattvataḥ |
uditaḥ sthitaś ceti niruddhaś ca kuto 'rthataḥ || 65.
katham aksaṇiko bhāvah pariṇāmaḥ sadā yadi |
nāsti cet pariṇāmaḥ syād anyathātvaṃ kuto 'rthataḥ || 66.
ekadeśe [4, b] kṣayād vā syāt kṣaṇikaṃ sarvaśo 'pi vā |
vaiṣamyānupalabdheś ca dvidhāpy etad ayuktimat || 67.
kṣaṇike sarvathā bhāvet kutaḥ kācit purāṇatā |
sthairyād akṣaṇike cāpi kutaḥ kācit purāṇatā || 68.

63. How can this world be something real, since it does not vanish into non-existence nor come to existence nor even possess the duration of an instant, and is, therefore, beyond the threefold temporal relation ?

64. From the standpoint of absolute truth, both this world as well as *nirvāṇa* are equally non-existent, either in the future or in the past or in the present ; how can then any difference between them be real ?

65. Since there is no duration, there is in truth neither origin nor destruction ; how can therefore [this world] be really born, permanent, destroyed ?

66. If there is always change into new forms is not, then, existence momentary ? If, on the other hand, there is no change how could you explain the modification which we perceive positively in things ?

yathānto 'sti kṣaṇasyaivaṃ ādir madhyaṃ ca kalpyatām |
tryātmakatvāt kṣaṇasyaivaṃ na lokasya kṣaṇaṃ sthitiḥ || 69.
ādimadhyāvasānāni c[intyāni kṣaṇavat punaḥ |
ādimadhyā]vasānatvaṃ na svataḥ parato 'pi vā || 70.
naiko 'nekapradeśatvān nāpradeśaś ca kaścana |
vinaikam api nāneko nāstitvam api cāstitām || 71.
vināśāt pratipakṣād vā syād astitvasya nāstitā |
vināśaḥ pratipakṣo vā kathaṃ syād astyasaṃbhavāt || 72.

nirvṛtes tena lokasya nopaity ūnatvam arthataḥ |
antavān iti lokaś ca pṛṣṭas tuṣṇīṃ jino 'bhavat || 73.

67. One thing is momentary because either it disappears partially or totally. But since no difference appears in the two cases, therefore both assumptions are equally illogical.

68. If things are mere moments, they are, then, in no way existent; therefore any temporal relation like that of oldness, etc., would be impossible; if, on the contrary, things are not momentary, on account of their duration any temporal relation like that of oldness, etc., would be equally impossible.[1]

69. If the instant has a final moment, we must assume that it has the other two moments as well, viz. the initial and the middle; but inasmuch as the instant consists of three moments the world cannot have the duration of the instant.[2]

70. Again, beginning, middle, and end must be considered to be like the instant, viz. divided each one into three moments; the condition of being beginning, middle, and end is not existent by itself nor by another.[3]

[1] Verses 68–70 are quoted, as taken from the *Madhyamakasiddhānta*, by Candrakīrti in *PP.*, p. 546.

If things are always changing, they have no time to become old; if there is no change, there is also no oldness, but things would be eternally new.

[2] *Tri* is not in the quotation by Candrakīrti, but is found in the Tibetan text as well as in the commentary thereon; *tri* refers to beginning, middle, and end.

[3] This verse meets the possible objection, viz. that, if there is no instant, as it is not simple, but complex as being composed of three moments, then the instant would be implicitly represented by these three moments, into which the instant has been decomposed. The answer of Nāgārjuna is that they also, if they are something real, must be composed of other moments, and so there would be *regressus in infinitum*. Moreover, the fact or the condition of being beginning, middle, and end is, from the absolute point of view, illogical because it is not by itself, which would be contradictory, nor by another cause, because, in this way, there would not be the necessary connection between the cause and its effect, which is the fundament of the causal relation. So, as demonstrated in the following *śloka*, everything has only a relative existence.

sarvajña iti sarvajño budhais tenaiva gamyate |
yenaitad dharmagāmbhīryaṃ novācābhājane loke || 74
iti naiḥśreyaso dharmo gambhīro niṣparigrahaḥ |
anālaya ity proktaḥ saṃbuddhais tattvadarśibhiḥ || 75
asmād anālayād dharmād ālayābhiratā janāḥ |
astināstyavyatikrantā bhītā naśyanty amedhasaḥ || 76
te naṣṭā nāśayanty anyān abhayasthānabhīravaḥ |
tathā kuru yathā rājan naṣṭair na vipranāśyase. || 77

71. No [atom] is simple being many-sided; and no [atom is sideless [in so far as its connection with other atoms would then, be impossible]; on the other hand the idea of plurality is inconceivable without that of unity nor that of non existence without that of existence.[1]

72. Non-existence of existence is only possible through destruction or antithesis; but how can destruction or antithesis be conceivable if existence is logically impossible?

73. Therefore attainment of *nirvāṇa* does not imply in fact any destruction of worldly existence. That is why even the Buddha, when requested whether this world has an end remained silent.

74. Therefore, the wise men realize that the All-knower is really the All-knower, because he did not preach this deep doctrine to those who are unfit [to hear it and cannot, therefore rightly understand it].

75. Indeed the perfect Buddhas, who have realized the absolute truth, stated that this law, conducive to salvation is deep, beyond the attachment to any particular thesis stating the existence of nothing which one can depend upon

76. Ignorant men, who like to state the existence of some thing which they can depend upon and did not yet get rid o

[1] Having shown that the atom or the instant cannot be conceived as bein composed of more elementary moments or as having a dimension, the authc shows that they cannot be also considered to be a unity, because unity i not conceivable without relation to plurality, and plurality is not conceivabl without relation to unity. Therefore, since existence and non-existenc are, in fact, impossible to be conceived, even *nirvāṇa* cannot be considere as the non-existence of this world.

contradictory theses like that of existence or non-existence of things, feel but fear of this law which does not state the existence of anything we can depend upon, and are then ruined.

77. And being themselves ruined they want to ruin others, also being afraid of (this teaching) where there is nothing to be feared. Be careful, O king, unless these wicked ones might ruin you also.

PS.—I prepared the edition of the text on a modern copy marred by many clerical errors. But, on my request, His Highness the Mahārāja Joodha Sham Shere was kind enough to send me a good photographic copy of the original, which in many a point permitted a revision of my first readings.

131.

Reciprocal Influences in Music 'twixt the Far and Middle East

By HENRY GEORGE FARMER

"You see the Great Kaan [Khubilāy Khān] had not succeeded to the dominion of Cathay by hereditary right, but held it by conquest; and thus having no confidence in the natives, he put all authority into the hands of Tartars, Saracens, or Christians, who were attached to his household and devoted to his service, and were foreigners in Cathay."—*The Book of Ser Marco Polo.*

IN spite of the hoary belief in the conservatism of the Chinese we find that exotic music and instruments of music found favour in "Far Cathay" from quite an early period, long before the Mughal régime. Thanks to the researches of M. Maurice Courant [1] and others, we are able to appreciate with considerable definiteness the influence of the Middle East on the Far East in these matters. On the other hand, the Rev. A. C. Moule [2] is of opinion that "the musical systems of Persia and Arabia seem to have had but little effect on Chinese music, and the use of only a few instruments can at all probably be traced to the great intercourse which existed between those countries and China in the middle ages".

§ 1

One of the earliest legends concerning music in China suggests Middle Asian influences. A third century B.C. story tells of an emperor Huang Ti, who lived before the Hsia dynasty (2205–1766 B.C.), who sent a certain Ling Lun "from West of Ta-hsia to the north of Yüan-yü", where he obtained bamboos for the construction of the *lü* or musical pipes which

[1] Courant, "Essai historique sur la musique classique des Chinois": In Lavignac's *Encyclopédie de la musique*, i.

[2] Moule, "A List of Musical and other Sound-Producing Instruments of the Chinese": In the *Journal of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, xxxix.

became the basis of the Chinese scale. Chavannes, who has dealt with this question, identifies Bactria in the above.[1]

The cultural indebtedness of China to the Middle East during the early Han dynasty (206 B.C.–A.D. 25) is generally acknowledged.[2] Under the later Han rulers (A.D. 25–220), when a considerable portion of Eastern Turkestān, including Khotān, Kāshghar, and Kucha, was added to the Chinese realm, these influences asserted themselves more definitely. Indeed, the early appearanceof the pear-shaped lute in Khotān [3] prompts the suggestion that the Chinese lute known as the *p'i-p'a* (*phi-pha*) [4] was introduced from Eastern Turkestān which, in turn, had borrowed it from Western Turkestān.[5] In fact, although it is said that the name *p'i-p'a* is derived from the names given to the two movements of the hand in lute-playing,[6] there are reasons for believing that *p'i-p'a* is a phonetic off-spring of the Persian word *barbaṭ*, just as the Greek *βαρβιτος* was.

In the year 568 a Turkish princess married the Chinese emperor Wu-ti (560–78) and she took with her to China a musician of Kucha named Su-ch'i-p'o, who played the "barbarian" *p'i-p'a* (i.e. the Turkomanian *barbaṭ*). It was this musician who introduced into China the traditional seven musical modes of his country.[7] The ancient Chinese names

[1] Chavannes, "Des rapports de la musique Grecque avec la musique Chinoise": In *Memoires Historiques*, iii, Append. ii. See also A. E. Moule, *The Chinese People*, 110–12.

[2] *Encyclopædia Britannica* (11th ed.), vi, 194.

[3] Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, ii, pls. xliii, xlvi.

[4] The transliteration used here is that generally adopted and it is used by Van Aalst, Moule, and other English writers on Chinese music. The name in parentheses is that given by Courant. It is included here because the latter's system of transliteration may be better known to musicians.

[5] Huth, *Die Musikinstrumente Ost-Turkistans bis zum* 11. *Jahrhundert n. Chr.* (1928), 33, 38.

[6] Courant, 177. Moule, 113.

[7] Cf. the seven traditional modes of Persia mentioned by Al-Mas'ūdī (*Prairies d'or*, viii, 90, 417) and Sir William Jones (*Asiatick Researches*, 1807 ed., iii, 63). See my article on "The Old Persian Musical Modes" in the *JRAS.*, Jan., 1926.

for these modes are foreign and carry distinct features of Aryan, if not definitely Persian, origin.[1] Further, the eighty-four systems (*tiao, t'iao*) which issued from these seven modes may have been prompted by the eighty-four circulations (*dawa'ir*) of Persian music, but altered to suit the native theory and practice. At the same time it has to be admitted that we have no documentary evidence of the "circulations" in the Middle East earlier than the twelfth century.

Under the Sui emperors (A.D. 581–618) bands and musicians from Bukhārā, Samarqand, Kāshghar, Kucha, and elsewhere, were favoured at the Chinese court.[2] The contemporary Wei monarchs were acquainted with the music of Ṭurfān and after the conquest of this place in 640 a band of music from Ṭurfān was established at court.[3] The T'ang dynasty (618–907) extended the empire to the borders of Persia and the shores of the Caspian which gave greater impetus to Middle Asian influences. These prevailed under the Sung rulers (960–1279).[4] Perhaps the use of bowed instruments in China was due to this cultural contact.[5] Indeed, the instruments of music of Eastern Turkestān up to the eleventh century which are to be found in the works of Sir Aurel Stein,[6] Paul Pelliot,[7] Albert le Coq,[8] and Albert Grünwedel,[9] together with the classification of Arno Huth, enable us to see what the cultural borrowings were 'twixt the Middle and Far East in this respect. Huth divides the instruments of Eastern Turkestān into three provenances—Western Asiatic, Indian, and Eastern Asiatic.

[1] Courant, 96.

[2] Courant, 192.

[3] Courant, 193–4.

[4] Courant, 191–2, 195.

[5] Courant, 181. Cf. Moule, 3.

[6] Stein, *Ancient Khotan* (1907), *Sand buried ruins of Khotan* (1903), *Serindia* (1921), *Ancient Buddhist Paintings from the Caves of the Thousand Buddhas* (1921).

[7] *Les Grottes de Touen-Houang* (1922–4).

[8] *Chotscho* (1913), *Die Buddhistiche Spätantike in Mittelasien* (1922–6).

[9] *Bericht über archäologische Arbeiten in Idykutschari und Umgebung im Winter 1902–03* (*Abhdlg. d. kgl. bayr. Akad. d. Wiss.*, 1906), *Altbuddhistische Kultstätten in Chinesisch-Turkistan* (1912), *Alt-Kutscha* (1920).

Those of Western Asiatic origin are the various lute and pandore types, the harp with the upper sound-chest, and the oboe.[1] All these found their way into China. The lute *p'i-p'a* (= Pers. *barbaṭ*) has already been mentioned. The harp with the upper sound-chest, apparently the *shu-k'ung-hou* (*choú khōng heoû*), which was used by the bands of Kucha and Kāshghar at the Chinese courts of the Sui and Wei emperors, fell into desuetude during the Middle Ages.[2] As for the oboe, i.e. a conical reed-pipe played with a double reed, this is considered to be of Middle Asian origin.[3] It is certain that the *su-êrh-nai* (*soū-eùl-nâi*) or *so-na* (*swò-nā*) of China came, as these names testify, from the Middle East. Both the *kuan* (*kwàn*) and the *pi-li* (*pĭ-lĭ*), which are cylindrical reed-pipes played with a double and single reed respectively, are admitted by Chinese authors to be of alien origin. The former was borrowed from the Ch'iang on the western borders of China, probably Kucha.[4] The latter is called by Giles "the Tartar horn" [? pipe]. Even the transverse flute (or perhaps a particular type or types) came from Middle Asia and the *Lü lü Ching*, written in 1595–6, says that the ancient Chinese did not use the transverse flute called *ti* (*tĭ*), but that it was borrowed from the Ch'iang. The *hu-ti* (*hoù tĭ*) was also called the *ch'iang ti* because of its Tatar origin. The *hêng-ti* (*hêng tĭ*) also came from abroad.[5] Among instruments of percussion of Middle Asian origin were the cymbals *t'ung-po* (*thông pŏ*) and the carillon *fang hsiang* (*fāng hyàng*), as well as many drums.[6] The viol family is said by occidental writers to have come from India, but it has to be remembered that our earliest documentary evidence comes from Arabic sources.[7] The old

[1] Huth, 33–4, 38.

[2] Courant, 192–3. For examples of this instrument in China and Chinese Turkestān see T. Richard, *A Paper on Chinese Music*, and Stein, *Serindia*, pl. iii (yo 0066).

[3] See Moule, 3.

[4] Courant, 159 Moule, 84, 151.

[5] Courant, 155. Moule, 80, 151–2.

[6] Courant, 146, 151. Moule, 146.

[7] Farmer, *Studies in Oriental Musical Instruments*, 99 seq.

Chinese writers on music recognize both the foreign and the native (Chinese) instruments.[1] At any rate no viol appears to be mentioned earlier than the Yüan or Mughal period, a circumstance which points to a Middle Asian influence.[2]

When the Mughals entered and became masters of China (1213–1368), a more direct contact with the Middle East was maintained. It is true that the conquerors encouraged native musicians (Chingiz Khān preferred those of Tangut, and Ogodai those of Kin) and adhered to the musical customs of China, encouraging musical theorists to write on the *lü*.[3] On the other hand, several foreign elements in Chinese music are traceable to this period. The *kung-ch'e* notes appear to have been introduced from Middle Asia about this time and their names vouch for their origin. The notation which accompanied this system soon became popular "on account of the simplicity of the characters". These innovations were retained, with modifications, by both the Ming (1368–1644) and the Ch'ing (1644–1912) dynasties.[4]

During the Yüan or Mughal period we have an account of the introduction of the organ called the *hsing-lung-shêng* into China by Khubilāy Khān in 1260–4, and it is expressly mentioned that the instrument came from the "Muslim kingdoms", the "lands of the West".[5]

From this period the music and instruments of music of the Islāmic peoples of the West became better known in China. This was only to be expected. The armies of the Yüan rulers were made up of large contingents from Turkestān,

[1] Moule, 149.

[2] Moule (A. E.), *The Chinese People*, 119.

[3] Courant, 84.

[4] Moule, 135. Van Aalst, 15–16.

[5] In the *JRAS*. for 1926 (pp. 193–211) the Rev. A. C. Moule and Canon F. W. Galpin gave a description of this instrument, with the Chinese texts and translations. Although the former thought otherwise (p. 193), attention had already been directed to this instrument by Courant (op. cit., 161). See also Farmer, "The Organ of the Muslim Kingdoms" (in *JRAS*., 1926, p. 495); *Studies in Oriental Musical Instruments*, 30–35; and *The Organ of the Ancients, from Eastern Sources*, 76, 138, 176.

whilst a considerable number of the officials at court and in the administration were Persians,[1] as Marco Polo testified.[2] This influence extended as the Muslim communities grew in China, and many of the instruments of music bear evidence of this. Among these are the following [3]:—

tan-pu-la (*tān-poú-lă*)	= Turkī *tanbūr*, Arabic *ṭunbūr*.
sai-t'o-êrh (*sái-thō-eùl*)	= Turkī, Persian *sitār*.
{ *huo-pu-ssŭ* (*hwò-poŭ-seū*)	= Turkī *qūbūz*, Arab. *qabūs*.
{ *hun-pu-ssŭ* (*hwên-poŭ-seū*)	= Arab. *qanbūṣ*.
la-pa-pu (*lă-pā-poŭ*)	= Turk., Pers. *rubāb*.
ha-êrh-cha-k'o (*ngŏ-eùl-tchă-khĕ*) [4]	= Turk. *ghijjak*, Pers. *ghizhak*, *ghishak*.
k'o-êrh-nai (*khŏ-eùl-nái*)	= Pers., Arab. *qānūn*.[5]
su-êrh-nai (*soū-eùl-nái*) [6]	= Turk., Pers. *surnāy*, *surnā*.
pa-la-man (*pā-lă-màn*)	= Turk. *balāban*.[7]
na-ka-la (*ná-kŏ-lă*)	= Turk. *nāghārā*, Arab. *naqqāra*.
ta-pu-la (*tă-poú-lă*)	= Arab. *ṭabl*.
ta-pu (*tă-poŭ*)	= Pers. *daf*, Arab. *duff*.

With the exception of the *huo-pu-ssŭ*, which is given as *hu-po*, these instruments are not mentioned by Moule. Of

[1] See *Encyclopædia of Islām*, i, 846.

[2] He called them "Saracens".

[3] These are all mentioned in the Statutes of the Ch'ing dynasty (*Ta Ch'ing hui tien*, etc.).

[4] *ha* 哈 is also pronounced *kah*, *ga*, in some parts. Courant writes *ngo*. Hamil, once the capital of a Turkic state, is called both Hamil and Khamil in China.

[5] Not *qālūn* (*kaloun*) as Courant writes.

[6] The Rev. A. C. Moule, in a communication anent this article, gives *so-na* in preference to *su-êrh-nai*. Courant reverses this preference.

[7] Courant says "comparez turk *bālābān*, grosse caisse ?" Curt Sachs (*Reallex. der Musikinstrumente*) says that it is a "pauke", but the *balabān* of Ibn Ghaibī (d. 1435) is a reed-pipe as is also the *balāban* of Evliyā Chelebī (d. c. 1679). To-day, the *bālābān* of Turkey and the *balabān* of Turkestān are reed-pipes. My authorities are Ra'ūf Yekta Bey (*personal communication*), Fitrat (op. cit., 48), and Belaiev (*Muzikalnïe instrumentï uzbekistana*, 40).

course, they were generally to be found in the hands of Muslim or Middle Asian bands of music in China, notably in the Turkestānī band formed in 1760 at the Chinese court.[1]

§ 2

That there was a reciprocal influence must also be allowed. Although the influence of China is certainly most marked in Eastern Turkestān,[2] yet, strange to say, in Western Turkestān it is almost negligible.[3] The latter has been more deeply impressed by Arabian and Persian culture in music as in most other things. Still, the influence of the Far East is traceable yet further west. Even the most casual observer must have noticed the seemingly alien types of instruments of music handled by the minstrels in Persian and Mughal paintings from the fourteenth to the seventeenth century. Indeed, one can find them as early as the thirteenth century in Persian pottery and Mesopotamian metal work. These strange-looking instruments are, for the most part, of Chinese provenance, although originally they may have come from Turanian peoples. They were passed on to the Islāmic countries of the west *via* the Mughal and Tatar incursions of the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries.

Yet China had already influenced these people long before this. We read of a certain Aḥmad al-Ṣīnī in the *Kitāb al-aghānī*.[4] Al-A'shā Maimūn (d. *c.* 629) mentions an instrument called the *mushtaq ṣīnī* (Chinese *mushtaq*), which Al-Mufaḍḍal ibn Salama (d. 920) says is the Arabicized form of the Persian

[1] Courant, 203–4.

[2] Huth, op. cit., 35, 38.

[3] For works on the music of Western Turkestān see Uspensky, *Sovietsky Uzbekistan* (Tashkent, 1927); Uspensky and Belaiev, *Turkmenskaia muzika* (Moscow, 1928); Belaiev, *Rukovodstvo dlia obmera narodnikh muzikalnikh instrumentov* (Moscow, 1931), *Muzikalnie instrumenti uzbekistana* (Moscow, 1933); Mironov, *Pesni fergani bukhari i khivi* (Tashkent, 1931), *Obzor muzikalnikh kultur uzbekov i drugikh narodov vostoka* (Samarqand, 1931), all in Russian; and Fitrat, *Uzbik qilāssiq mūsiqāsi* (Tashkent, 1927), in Turkī.

[4] *Aghānī*, Sāsī ed., v, 83.

mushta ṣīnī.[1] In the tenth century, *Mafātīḥ al-'ulūm* it is called the *mustaq* and is described as being "made of compounded tubes (*anābīb*)", its name in Persian being given as *bīsha mushta*.[2] I have surmised elsewhere [3] that this instrument was the Chinese mouth-blown organ known as the *shêng*, but its phonetic parent was probably the *ho-shêng* (*hwô chĕng*).[4]

Both Ibn Sīnā (d. 1037) [5] and Ibn Zaila (d. 1048) [6] refer to an instrument called the *ṣanj al-ṣīnī* (Chinese *ṣanj*),[7] which was played with beating rods (*maṭāriq*). This would appear to have been similar to the dulcimer which is known to-day in China as the *yang-ch'in* (*yâng khîn*), i.e. the foreign *ch'in*. Courant thinks that the latter is of European origin and that it may have been introduced into China in the seventeenth–eighteenth century,[8] but the mention of the instrument by eleventh-century Arabic authors shows that the type must have been known in China at an earlier period, and it may have been the *chu-ko-ch'in* (*tchoū-kŏ khîn*).[9]

As already indicated, the Mughal and Tatar incursions into Islāmic lands brought about a more forceful crescendo of cultural influences from the Far East, and as an example of

[1] Cairo MS. *Kitāb al-malāhī* (Fine Arts, 533), pp. 21–2. This manuscript, which I hope to issue in facsimile shortly, together with a translation, is in the hand of the noted penman and geographer Yāqūt (d. 1229) whose fame as a calligraphist is, perhaps, only eclipsed by Ibn Muqla.

[2] *Liber mafātīh al-olūm*, ed. Van Vloten, 237.

[3] *Encyclopædia of Islām*, iii, 541.

[4] But cf. ستق in the *Qāmūs* of Al-Fīrūzābādī (d. 1414), where a *mustaqa* is defined as "an implement [a reed or piece of wood] with which the *ṣanj* (harp, dulcimer, psaltery) and the like are beaten".

[5] India Office MS., *Al-Shifā'* (No. 1811), fol. 173.

[6] British Museum MS., *Kitāb al-kāfī* (Or. 2361), fol. 235 v.

[7] The instrument is called the *ṣanj al-ṣīnī* (الصنج الصيني) only by Ibn Zaila. In the various copies of the *Shifā'* of Ibn Sīnā it is called the الصنج الجبني (*var.* الجبني, الحى). See my *Studies in Oriental Musical Instruments*, 7.

[8] Courant, 180; but Moule says (118) that it is "very much like the Persian *santīr*, a fact which, added to the name, makes it probable that it was introduced from Persia".

[9] Courant, 180. See Moule, 150, for instruments played with beating rods.

this three instruments depicted in Mesopotamian and Mughal art (thirteenth and sixteenth centuries respectively) are shown here. The first is the Chinese lute known as the *p'i-p'a*. It has this interesting feature that the artist has reversed, it would seem, the shape, i.e. the curve, of the sound holes. A sixteenth-century example may also be seen in a line drawing reproduced by Marteau-Vever.[1] The second specimen is the Chinese pandore called the *huo-pu-ssŭ* or *hun-pu-ssŭ*. This occurs quite frequently in Persian and Mughal art and a published example may be seen in a late fifteenth-century miniature given by Martin.[2] The third is, perhaps, another Chinese pandore known as the *shuang-ch'in*.

§ 3

We have a very interesting account of the music of "Far Cathay" at the beginning of the fifteenth century from a Persian source which has not been used by any of the writers on Chinese music so far as the present writer is aware. It occurs in the itinerary of an embassy which set out for China from the Mughal court at Herāt and it is given in the *Maṭla' al-sa'dain* of 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Samarqandī (d. 1482), on the authority of a certain artist, Ghiyāth al-Dīn al-Naqqāsh, who accompanied the embassy.[3] It left Herāt in December, 1419, and returned there in September, 1422. At Sukjū, the modern Su-chou, which is called the chief town of Khaṭā (Cathay), Ghiyāth al-Dīn describes the chamber music heard at the grand reception given in their honour. First he calls attention to the *kūrka pādshāhī* or "Royal drum". To the right and left of this were arranged musicians playing on the *bātūghān* (*sic*), *bīna* (*sic*), *kamānja*, *nai* (two kinds), *tunbuk*, *ṭabl dūrū'i*, *ṣinj*, *chahārpāra*, and *duhul*.[4]

[1] Marteau-Vever, *Miniatures persanes exposées au Musée des Arts Décoratifs*, fig. 212.

[2] Martin, *The Miniature Painting and Painters of Persia, India and Turkey from the 8th to the 18th century*, pl. xciv.

[3] *Notices et Extraits*, tome xiv.

[4] Text, 312. Trans., 392.



FIG. 1.—Performer on the Chinese *p'i-p'a.*

From a brass ewer of the Mauṣil School (13th cent.) in the British Museum.



FIG. 2.—Performer on the Chinese *huo-pu-ssŭ.*

From a painting of the Mughal Schoo (16th cent.) in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts.



FIG. 3.—Performer on the Chinese *shuang-ch'in* (?)

From a brass ewer of the Mauṣil School (13th cent.) in the British Museum.

At Khānbāliq ("King's town"), the modern Pekin, he speaks about the outdoor music as well as the chamber music of the court.[1] Outside the palace he saw a *kūrka* and a *nāqūs*. He also tells us that he heard two thousand musicians (*mughannī*) singing to the accompaniment of their instruments (*sāz*). The outdoor music comprised that played by musicians on the *kūrka*, *duhul*, *damāma*, *ṣinj*, and *nāqūs*.[2] As for the palace chamber music, he describes performances on the *bātūghān* (*sic*), *bīna* (*sic*), *mūsīqār*, and *chahārpāra*.[3] The player on the *bātūghān* (*sic*) performed twelve airs (*maqām*) that were not of Khaṭā. This shows that there were alien influences in the music of China under the Mìng dynasty, just as there had been under the T'ang and Yüan rulers.

It will be noticed that all these instruments are given Persian or Mughal names and we cannot, therefore, be certain in every case in identifying the Chinese originals. Instruments of percussion played an important part in the music of Khaṭā in these days as in the present time. The *kūrka* was evidently one of the huge drums used for ceremonial purposes.[4] With the Mughals of India, as we know from the *Ā'īn-i akbarī* (sixteenth century),[5] the *kūrka* was a monster kettledrum almost the height of a man and was played in pairs, each drum being controlled by a player who used two sticks. With the Mughals of Persia it also appears to have been a kettledrum, and from the *Maṭla' al-sa'dain*, *Ẓafar-nāma*, and *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, the best known histories of the period, we known that it was different from the *damāma*, *kūs*, and *naqqāra*, which were also kettledrums.[6] It was part of the royal insignia

[1] Text, 321. Trans., 402.

[2] Text, 321. Trans., 403.

[3] Text, 328. Trans., 410–11.

[4] Marco Polo calls the great kettledrum of the Tatar khān the "great naccara" (= *naqqāra*), but, as Yule very correctly observes, the proper name for this instrument was *qūrqah* (= *kūrka*) and this is the instrument (a pair) delineated by him (i, 304), although he calls it a *nakkāra*. See my article s.v. in the *Encyclopædia of Islām*.

[5] *Ā'īn-i akbarī*, ed. Blochmann, i, 50–2, pl. viii.

[6] *Notices et Extraits*, xiv, 129. See also *JA.*, Fev.–Mars, 1852, p. 261.

and its tones accompanied the royal edicts. On the death of a sulṭān, after being played at the royal obsequies, it was broken to pieces.[1] Perhaps the great drum (*ṭabl al-kabīr*) mentioned by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa in the cortège of the Mughal sulṭān Abū Sa'īd (d. 1457) of Al-'Irāq, was the *kūrka*.[2] The Turks attribute the origin of their monster kettledrum called the *kūs* to the Chinese [? Mughals], and they used to call it the *khakhānī* in consequence.[3]

According to the *Ā'īn-i akbarī*, another name for this drum was *damāma*, but in the *Maṭla' al-sa'dain* these two were different instruments. We do not know the type of drum that Ghiyāth al-Dīn saw in Khaṭā, but the modern Bengalī *damāma* or *damāmā* is a kettledrum with an earthenware shell or body. It is played in pairs in the *nauba* or military band, and a specimen in the museum of the Brussels Conservatoire de Musique measures 46 cm. in height and 36 cm. in the diameter of the "head".[4] It is difficult to identify either the *kūrka* or *damāma* with any of the Chinese drums, but probably the former was simply one of the large drums of the *t'ang ku* (*tchâng koù*) type.[5]

The *ṭabl dūrū'ī*, as its name implies, was a double-headed drum, and since we are told that it was mounted on a stand or tripod (*pāya*), it may have been the Chinese *lung ku* (*lōng koù*).[6] The *duhul* of Persia to-day is a double-headed drum,[7] and has a barrel-shaped shell or body.[8] It is likely, therefore, that the instrument of Khaṭā which Ghiyāth al-Dīn heard was the *po-fu* (*pō foù*).[9] The *tunbuk* of Persia in the seventeenth century,[10] as to-day,[11] was a tambourine with a shell or body

[1] *History of Timur-Bec* (1723), ii, 418.
[2] Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Voyages*, ed. Defrémery and Sanguinetti, ii, 128.
[3] Evliyā Chelebi, *Travels*, i, ii, 226.
[4] Mahillon, *Catalogue descriptif* . . ., i, 106.
[5] Moule, 58, pl. vii.
[6] Courant, 150. Cf. Van Aalst, 79.
[7] Advielle, *La musique chez les Persans* (1885), 15 and pl.
[8] Cf. Kaempfer, *Amoenitatum exoticarum* . . . (1712), 740–1.
[9] Courant, 149. Van Aalst, 76. Moule, 56.
[10] Kaempfer, 741–2. Here it is written *dunbak*.
[11] Advielle, 15.

in the shape of an egg cup. It was identical with the *darabukka* of the Arabs, but an instrument of this type is not used in China to-day unless the *shou-ku* (*cheoù koù*) is what is referred to.[1]

The *ṣinj* were cymbals or metal castanets. They were doubtless identical with the Chinese *hsing* (*sīng*).[2] In Persia, the *chahārpāra* were castanets of wood and were probably identical with the Chinese *p'o-pan* (*phŏ pàn*).[3] Quatremère was of opinion that this word was a copyist's error for *chahārtāra* (= *chārtār*), a four-stringed lute or pandore, but he was mistaken in this. The *nāqūs* of Khaṭā, which Ghiyāth al-Dīn says was suspended, was evidently a gong of the *t'ê-ch'ing* (*thĕ khing*) type.[4]

Of wind instruments we find the *nai* and *mūsīqār* mentioned. Of the former, two species are described, one played from the end like the Arabian, Persian, and Turkī *nāy* (flute), and the other played from the side. They probably represent such types as the Chinese *hsiao* (*syāo*) and *ch'ih* (*tchhi*).[5] The *mūsīqār* of the Persians and Arabs was the panpipes. What Ghiyāth al-Dīn saw was perhaps the *p'ai-hsiao* (*phâi syāo*).[6]

Two stringed instruments are given by Ghiyāth al-Dīn—the *bātūghān* and *bīna*. In a Persian treatise on music by 'Abd al-Qādir ibn Ghaibī (d. 1435) the first of these instruments is written *yātūghān*, and it would seem, therefore, that the former is a copyist's slip. The second of these instruments may also be a scribal error. We certainly have a similar looking

[1] Courant, 148. Moule, 53.

[2] Courant, 146.

[3] Courant, 147.

[4] Courant, 146. Van Aalst, 48. Moule, 30.

[5] Courant, 152–3. Van Aalst, 70–1. Moule, 74. In his communication on this article the latter asks "Why not the *ti* ?" It is true that the latter is given greater prominence in the palace ceremonies than the *ch'ih* (although sometimes four of each were employed), yet the Persian chronicler does not mention the ornamentation and other adornments that are usual with the *ti*, a fact that he would probably have commented upon. Further, whilst the *ch'ih* approximated to the ordinary transverse flute, the *ti* had a distinctive feature in a membrane covered hole.

[6] Courant, 152. Van Aalst, 70–1. Moule, 62–3.

word in the *bīn* (= *vīṇā*) of India,[1] but the above form is apparently a mistake for *bība* (= *pīpā*), the Persian way of writing the Chinese *p'i-p'a*, as we see from Ibn Ghaibī. We shall see both the *yātūghān* and *pīpā* described shortly. The *kamānja* (= *kamāncha*) of Persia was a long-necked viol. What was seen in Khaṭā was probably an instrument of the *hu-ch'in* (*hoû khîn*) or *t'i-ch'in* (*thî khîn*) types.[2]

§ 4

Four of these instruments of Khaṭā are described by the aforementioned 'Abd al-Qādir ibn Ghaibī (d. 1435), a gifted musician and theorist of music in the service of the Jalairid and Tīmūrid sulṭāns.[3] Both of these dynasties were of Mughal or Tatar origin and at their courts it is highly probable that several instruments of music from Khaṭā were in use. This description by Ibn Ghaibī is contained in a holograph of his entitled the *Jāmi' al-alḥān*, now preserved in the Bodleian Library at Oxford.[4] It is supported by another holograph treatise of his, the *Maqāṣid al-alḥān*, in the same library.[5] The instruments described by him that concern us are the *yātūghān*, *pīpā*, *shidirghū*, and *chubchīq*.[6]

The *yātūghān*, says Ibn Ghaibī, was an instrument "peculiar to the people of Khaṭā". It was made of wood, was long and hollow. Strings were mounted on the surface of the instrument and in the middle were movable bridges (*kharak*). The performer plucked the strings with the fingers of the right hand, whilst with the left he sharpened (*tīz*) the notes (*āhang*) by pressing down the strings or by moving the bridges. Adept performers, we are told, could play the Persian modes

[1] Day, *The Music and Musical Instruments of Southern India and the Deccan*, 109–110.
[2] Courant, 181–2. Van Aalst, 67. Moule, 121–131.
[3] I have given his biography in the *Encyclopædia of Islām* (Suppl.).
[4] Bodleian MS., *Marsh* 282.
[5] Bodleian MS., *Ouseley* 264.
[6] *Marsh* 282, fol. 80.

(*adwār*) and systems (*jumū'*) on it. Seemingly, it was an instrument of the *chêng* (*tchêng*) or *chu* (*tchoŭ*) types.[1]

The *pīpā* was also "much used by the people of Khaṭā", says Ibn Ghaibī. According to him it had a shallow sound-chest (*kāsa*) about 9 cm. (= 4 *angusht*) in depth. The "belly" or face was of wood. It had four strings which were tuned thus: Between the lowest string and the one above it was an interval of 498 cents (= 3 : 4): between the second lowest string and the one above it was an interval of 204 cents (= 8 : 9): and between the third lowest string and the one above it was an interval of 498 cents (= 3 : 4). It was, of course, the *p'i-p'a* which, even to-day, has the same *accordatura*.[2]

The *shidirghū*, says our author, was "mostly used by the people of Khaṭā". It was a long[-necked] instrument, half of its "belly" being covered with skin. It had four strings, the three lowest being tuned similarly to the Arabian and Persian lute (*'ūd*), i.e. a fourth (498 cents = 3 : 4) between them. The people of Khaṭā, we are told, could play the Persian modes of *'ushshāq*, *nawā*, and *būsalīk* upon it, each system (*jam'*) of which was called a *kūkī*. The *shidirghū* would appear to be an instrument not unlike the *huo-pu-ssŭ*.[3]

[1] Moule, in the communication already quoted, says that my mention of the *chu* "must be a slip". "The *chu*," he says, "is a wooden instrument of percussion, *not a stringed instrument* at all like the *chêng*." He suggests that the word intended is *shê*, an instrument "very much like the *chêng*".

It is quite true that the *chu* 柷 is "a wooden instrument of percussion", but there is also another *chu* 筑 which is "a stringed instrument"—a psaltery with a neck. It is to this latter instrument that I refer. As for the *shê*, Giles says that it is "a kind of guitar or lute, resembling the *ch'in*". This is not quite correct. The *shê*, like the *ch'in*, *chêng*, and *chu*, is a psaltery.

[2] Courant, 176–7. Van Aalst, 64–6. Moule, 113–16.

[3] Curt Sachs, *Reallexikon der Musikinstrumente*, s.v., has an instrument of Eastern Turkestān called the *shidūrghūr*. Marco Polo refers to the Tatars playing "a certain two-stringed instrument" (book ii, chap. iv). This was evidently a pandore of the type of the *dūtār* of Western Turkestān. It may have been the *rūd* of Eastern Turkestān. The two-stringed pandore of China is the *êrh-hsien*, a name also given to a two-stringed viol.

The chubchiq is called by Ibn Ghaibī the "*mūsīqār* (pan-pipes) of Khaṭā". It was made of a number of pipes of reed (*nai*) bound together, and was blown through a tube, the wind being stored in a wind-chest (*jauf*). By means of [finger] holes, melodies were played. I believe that this was the Chinese mouth-blown organ known as the *ch'ao-shêng* (*tchhâo chêng*).[1]

NOTE.—Fig. 2 on the plate is said to be a portrait of Jahāngīr (d. 1627). The artist is Āgā Riḍā. It has been reproduced by Marteau-Vever, *Miniatures persanes* . . . pl. 128, Martin, *Miniature Painting and Painters of Persia* . . . fig. 29, and *Ars Asiatica*, xiii, No. 110.

[1] Moule, in his communication, writes as follows: "*Ch'ao* alone is more correct and usual, but *shêng* alone is what is needed here." As Courant points out, the word *shêng* is a generic one for all the species of the mouth-blown organ, the several species being generally distinguished by the number of pipes such as the *ch'ao* and *ho* of 19 and 13 pipes respectively. I have used the name *ch'ao-shêng* because it equates phonetically with the name chubchiq which Ibn Ghaibī gives it. Further, the name *ch'ao-shêng* was used during the Mughal period. See Courant, 161. 136.

On the Assyrian words for "whetstone" and "corundum"

By R. Campbell Thompson

^{tak}*Sû* = "whetstone" [1]

CT. xiv, 17, 1–2, and 15, 1–2, and Matouš, *Lex. Taf.*, No. 88, 2, 46–7, give the equivalences ^{tak}*KALAG.GA*, $^{tak(alu)}$*KA.ŠAL.LA*, and *aban ki-su-si* as all equal to ^{tak}*sû*.

^{tak}*KALAG.GA* = "the strong (i.e. hard) stone." The next suggestion for its identification comes from *KAR*. 14, ii, 38–9, ^{tak}*su-u a-na* ^{iṣu}*kakkê*^{pl}*-ia ki-i ta-i* (?) . . . "when thou . . . the *sû*-stone to my weapons," that is to say, a hard stone is brought into association with weapons, which suggests at once a whetstone.[2] This is borne out by the synonym *aban kisusi* "stone of rubbing" (כסס, late Heb. *pilp.* and Aram. *palp.* "rub"). Asia Minor is still noted for its whetstones : "the most celebrated [oilstone] is the Turkey oilstone . . . obtained in the interior of Asia Minor" (Thorpe, *Dict. of App. Chem.*, iv, 1). Sir John Hill (in Theophrastus, *Hist. of Stones*, lxxvii) in his note on the ancient whetstones says that the *coticulae* of the Latins and ἀκοναι of the Greeks were of extreme hardness, but "After-ages found out the *Armenian* ".

^{tak}*sû* "whetstone" is, of course, distinct from ^{tak}*šû* "pumice", used for polishing the parchment of drums (see my article in *Babyloniaca*, 1934, on "Assyrian Prescriptions for Diseases of the Urine"). There is an obvious difficulty in deciding which of the Semitic cognates should be relatively associated with these, there being the late Heb. שׁוע

[1] For abbreviations see *JRAS*. 1929, 801, and 1933, 885.

[2] Cf. ibid., 32–3, *ḳar-ra-du a-na* ^{tak}*si-e* (Sum. ^{tak}*SU.U*) ^{tak}*ka-šur-ri-e iz-ziz-ma i-* . . . "the hero unto the *sû*-stone, basalt, presented himself and . . ." Can the ^{tak}*kašurrî* be a gloss to ^{tak}*sî* ?

"polish" (Aram. the same), Syr. ܫܥ "polish", ܫܥܥܐ "lapis lævis", and Arab. سَحَى "scraped off" (سِحَاء "parchment"), the latter doubtless to be referred to ^{tak}*šû* "pumice".

$^{tak(alu)}$*KA.ŠAL.LA* is difficult: the Sumerian alone suggests *os uteri*, but with the addition of ^{alu}, the name of a city, whence perhaps this stone came.

^{tak}*Algamišu* "AMETHYST", "CORUNDUM", ^{tak}*KUG.BAL.E* "CORUNDUM"

In *OTC.* 36, I compared ^{tak}*algamišu* to جمست (+ ال) "amethyst". Additional matter now allows us to enlarge on this.

First, *CT.* xiv, 15, 7, and 17, 7, and Matouš, *Lex. Taf.*, 88, 2, 52, 53, give the equivalences ^{tak}*KUG.BAL.E* = ^{tak}*UD* + *ŠAL* + *KAB* = ^{tak}*AŠ.MUR* = ^{tak}*algamiš*.

^{tak}*KUG.BAL.E* means "bright + spindle (drill)", indicating the lapidary's tool. Amethyst, as a form of corundum, suggests at once emery (also corundum), employed for cutting gems, and this is paralleled by ^{tak}*ṣipru*, for which I suggested "sapphire" (*Chem.* 103), lit. "the scratching stone" (Heb. צִפֹּרֶן "finger nail"), another form of corundum, described as ^{tak}*kunu[ku]* (*CT.* xiv, 15, 23), the stone for cutting seals. Cf. *KAR.* 213, 2, 11 (dup. *AM.* 46, 1, 24), *ḳaḳḳad* $^{(iṣu)}$*pilakki GIŠ MIŠ ḳakkad* $^{(iṣu)}$*pilakki UD* + *ŠAL* + *KAB* (· *algamiš*) *ŠE GIŠ.MIŠ ŠE* $^{(tak)}$*UD* + *ŠAL* + *KAB* $^{(tak)}$*AŠ.GI.GI* $^{(tak)}$*KA.MI* $^{(tak)}$*PA.ša-VII.TAR*^{pl}*-ša* (v. *šu*) $^{(tak)}$*šu-u GIRA* (*u*) *ŠAL* (^{tak}*ṢAB*) *X abnê*^{pl} *Enuma NA ênâti* ^{pl}*-šu iṣṣanundu*^{pl}(*du*)[1] "A head of a spindle of *Celtis Australis*, a head of a drill of corundum, a grain of *Celtis*

[1] *AM.* shows that these are to be threaded on a cord and hung on the neck with an appropriate incantation.

Australis, a grain of corundum, arsenic, black iron oxide, *PA*-stone of seven colours, male and female pumice, (lime), ten (!) minerals for *When a man's eyes roll* (?)."

There is, I think, no difficulty in accepting a *wood* (and not a *stone*) as the head or whorl of the first of the two spindles. The second is obviously that of the lapidary: the first is that, doubtless, for spinning wool. The bazaars in Mosul sell these latter spindles with wooden heads, and although I do not know what kind of wood it is, it is worth noting that the *Flore Française* (Gillet et Marne, 1898, 438) says that *Celtis Australis*, L., is used by basket makers, and its branches are made into forks. In this ritual the magician introduces by sympathetic magic objects which have a definite rotatory motion to stop the eyes rolling, and the grain of the tree, I presume, acts as representative of the spindle for wool. The yellow arsenic and black iron may perhaps represent the colours of the eye, and the pumice the idea of smoothing (?).

Scheil's text, *RA*. 1918, 115, 21, also shows the *kakkad alga[miš]*, head of corundum, and a lapidary's list in *KAH*. 185, iv, mentions (12) "two *takalgamiš* (13) one *SAG.BAL* (spindle-head) ditto". Emery powder may possibly be quoted in *I takKIL.ŠE al-ga-miš* as far back as the epoch of Ur (De Genouillac, *Textes Econ.*, No. 6055, r. iii, 10).

Boson was correct in his reading *takAŠ.MUR*, σμυρις, "emery," Eg. *jsmr* "smeriglio", a discovery on which he is to be congratulated (*Riv.* vi, 976; vii, 411); but until Matouš' text No. 88 was published I had assumed that it was merely a form *takAŠ.ḪAR*, confused with *takAS.ḪAR* "arsenic", both being used for eyes,[1] emery, of course, as a very gritty substance being out of the question.[2] Matouš' text 88, 2, 49–52, however, gives *takAŠ.MUR* as equivalent to *takBALAG.GA* ("pumice"), *takKU.IM* ("powder of clay",

[1] *PRSM*. 1924, 24.

[2] That the word for arsenic is to be read *takAS.ḪAR* is obvious from the form in *KAR*. 71, 9 (Ebeling, *MDAG*. v, 3, 31) *anaku AS.ḪAR našaku takAS.ḪAR pa-* . . . *lisaḫra*, etc. Similar puns will be found in *Maklu*, v, 30 ff.

uncertain, but it = ^{isk}*BALAG.DU*, *l.* 48), and ^{isk}*KU.A.BAR* "powder of antimony (stibium)" as well as ^{isk}*KUG.BAL.E* "corundum". ^{isk}*AŠ.MUR*, thus representing at least three well-known powdered stones, allows us to recognize that even the Assyrians, usually so careful, were compelled to admit in their grammatical lists, at all events, a serious variability in the meaning of a word used in the medical texts which, one would have said, demand a careful accuracy.

But, in any case, we can now say that ^{isk}*AŠ.MUR* (= stibium) and ^{isk}*AS.ḪAR* (= arsenic) (both drugs for eyes) are distinct, and ^{isk}*algamišu* is amethyst or corundum, and is the same as the Arab. جمست (and not אלגביש "hail", as has been suggested). It is conceivable that ΑΔΑΜΑΣ (misread ?) might have its origin in this word, as the hardest stone.

211.

MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

SABHĀ, GRĀMAṆĪ, STHAPATI, ETC., IN THE SŪTRA LITERATURE

SABHĀ

In the Śrauta Sūtras the term *Sabhā* does not occur, but *Sabhāsad* is mentioned, though only once.[1] In the Gṛhya Sūtras *Sabhā* is frequently met with. In one case[2] it is distinctly used in the sense of a room in the house where, according to Gārgya Nārāyaṇa, "the householder sits at ease with his own men and visitors." In another case also the term is used in the sense of a hall, but distinctly a village-hall where some matters of public importance appear to have been discussed and decided.[3] If along with this we take another reference,[4] which would grant autonomy to villages in private matters, then we may conclude that during this period the *Grāma Sabhā* was flourishing as a local administrative authority.

Coming to the Dharma Sūtras, we may note that it is only in the Āpastamba Dharma Sūtra—one of the Southern Sūtras—that the term *Sabhā* occurs.[5] It does not occur at all in the other Dharma Sūtras. And in the Āpastamba *Sabhā* is clearly used in the sense of a common hall for gambling For judicial purposes in both civil and criminal causes the responsibility would appear to be that of the king,[6] and the general administration in the villages and towns would appear to have been carried on through officers appointed by the king.[7] While adjudicating causes, the King or his officers would appear to have been assisted by a body of assessors[8] (*Sabhya*), who were to be selected out of the same class of

[1] Śāṅkhyāyana Śrauta Sūtra, xvi, 9, 17.

[2] Āśvalāyana Gṛhya Sūtra, ii, 7, 9 to 12.

[3] Kauśika Gṛhya Sūtra, 94, 1.

[4] Pāraskara Gṛhya Sūtra, i, 8, 13.

[5] Āpastamba Dharma Sūtra, ii, 9, 25–5–12–13 (in *SBE*. 10.9, 25–5. 12–13).

[6] Vasiṣṭha Dharma Sūtra, xvi, 2.

[7] Āpastamba Dharma Sūtra, ii, 10, 26–4.

[8] Gautama Dharma Sūtra, xiii, 11.

people as the parties to the cause.[1] If we base our conclusions entirely on the Dharma Sūtras (near about 300 B.C.), then the *Sabhā* as a local administrative unit would appear to have ceased to function.

GRĀMAṆĪ

The term *Grāmaṇī* is met with in the Śrauta and Gṛhya Sūtras only. In the Brāhmaṇas we were told that to become a *Grāmaṇī* was the highest ambition of life of a Vaiṣya. Here, however, we are told that a Rājanya, that is a Kṣatriya, is *gataśrī* if he has become a *Grāmaṇī*.[2] While in another passage a *Grāmaṇī* of the Sūta (charioteer) caste is mentioned.[3] From these references it may be inferred that, as the power of the king increased, the *Grāmaṇī*, instead of being appointed from among the people, came to be one of the members of the ruling caste. Besides the above deduction from the Gṛhya Sūtras it would appear that the *Grāmaṇī* had also gained in power in the internal economy of the village. A passage prescribing the rite for obtaining villages provides that " the *Grāmaṇī* be fed ".[4] This indicates that the *Grāmaṇī* had gained in authority: otherwise why try to propitiate him.

In the Dharma Sūtras, unfortunately, the term *Grāmaṇī* does not occur, though there is clear evidence to show that both towns and villages had officers to carry on the administration.

STHAPATI

The term *Sthapati* is met with both in Śrauta Sūtras and the Dharma Sūtras. From the context of the references [5] it would appear that he was a higher officer than the *Grāmaṇī*. What was the name of the local division at the head of which the *Sthapati* was placed is difficult to say. Of the local

[1] Gautama Dharma Sūtra, xi, 22.
[2] Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra, ii, 6, 5.
[3] Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra, xvi, 1, 16.
[4] Kauśika Gṛhya Sūtra, ix, 7 to 10.
[5] Lāṭyāyana Śrauta Sūtra, viii, 7, 11; Kātyāyana Śrauta Sūtra, i, 1, 12: xxii, 5, 28; 11, 11; Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra, xiv, 22, 3; Āpastamba Dharma Sūtra, ix, 14, 2.

divisions we find mentioned *Grāma*, *Nagara*, *Janapada*,[1] and *Deśa*.[2] That *Janapada* was a division higher than the village is clear; but what it precisely was is impossible to determine. Its etymological sense would suggest that it was the name given to a whole area over which a homogenous section of people (*Jana*) was settled. In the Dharma Sūtras the term *Deśa* is used precisely in the same sense as the term *Janapada* in the Gṛhya Sūtras. In the Dharma Sūtras the designations of the village and the town officers are not mentioned. However, the village and town officers were required to "protect a town from thieves in every direction to the distance of one *Yojana*", and, each village "to the distance of one *Krośa* from each village". If they failed to recover the stolen property, then "they must be made to repay what is stolen within these boundaries".[3] Presumably they were also to collect taxes for the king.

Śreṇī

There are clear indications in the Dharma Sūtras that communal, trade, agricultural, and industrial groups had a fair measure of self-government.[4] It was the duty of the king to see that each of these self-governing groups carried on its work according to its own rules and regulations. The king and his officers would appear to interfere only when a self-governing group deviated from its Dharma.[5] One of these group organizations was called a *Śreṇī*.[6] It is unfortunate, however, that these Sūtras do not give any information on such interesting points as the methods of choosing the representatives, the designations of the representatives, the functions exercised by them, and various other things that we should have liked to know. Only vaguely can we say that they had a great deal of autonomy.

119. B. G. Bhatnagar.

[1] Āśvalāyana Gṛhya Sūtra, 1, 7, 1; Kauśika Gṛhya Sūtra, 94, 1.
[2] Gautama Dharma Sūtra, xi, 20; Vasiṣṭha Dharma Sūtra, 1, 17; xix, 7.
[3] Āpastamba Dharma Sūtra, ii, 10, 26-6-7-8.
[4] Gautama Dharma Sūtra, xi, 21, 22; Vasiṣṭha Dharma Sūtra, xvi, 15.
[5] Gautama Dharma Sūtra, xi, 10; Vasiṣṭha Dharma Sūtra, xix, 7-8.
[6] Vasiṣṭha Dharma Sūtra, xvi, 15.

ON A NEW TYPE OF BRĀHMĪ *JA* INSCRIBED ON SOME ANCIENT INDIAN COINS

The object of this short note is to consider whether some Brāhmī *ja*'s inscribed on certain ancient Indian coins should be taken as constituting a new type of Brāhmī *ja* not hitherto noticed by any scholar.[1] The coins in question are the Dojaka-Negamā coins found only at Taxila by Cunningham[2] and the Brāhmī-reversed coins of Pantaleon and Agathokles.[3] The following legends are found on the above-mentioned types of coins: (1) The Dojaka-Negamā type: obv. Dojaka, rev. Negamā[4]; (2) the Brāhmī-reversed coin-type of Pantaleon: obv. ΒΑΣΙΛ[ΕΩΣ] above, ΠΑΝΤΑΛΕΟΝΤΟΣ below, rev. r. rajane. 1. Patalevaṣa; and (3) the Brāhmī-reversed coin-type of Agathokles: obv. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ above, ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕ[ΟΥΣ] below, rev. r. rajane, 1. Agathuklaye (sha).[5] Rapson opines that the first type of coin should be dated at least as early as the beginning of the fourth century B.C.,[6] and Smith has allotted *c.* 190 B.C. to Pantaleon and *c.* 185 B.C. to Agathokles.[7]

In course of considering the letter-shape of the legends on the Brāhmī-reversed coins of Pantaleon and Agathokles, Gardner opines that "some of the forms of letters seem abnormal".[8] While discussing the palæography of the letters inscribed on the Dojaka-Negamā coins, Bühler observes, "From their inscriptions, which are partly in Brāhma characters of the Kālsī type and partly both in Brāhma and Kharoshṭhī letters, Sir Alexander Cunningham has already drawn the obvious inference, that both alphabets were used

[1] *Indische Palæographie*, p. 36; *Siebzehn Tafeln zur Indischen Palæographie*, Tafel II, ii, xvi, 15.
[2] *Coins Ancient India*, pl. iii, No. 10.
[3] *Cat. Coins Ind. Mus.*, vol. i, p. 16.
[4] *Coins Ancient India*, pl. iii, No. 10; *Indian Studies*, No. III, p. 49.
[5] *Cat. Coins Ind. Mus.*, vol. i, pl. ii, No. 1, No. 2.
[6] *Indian Coins*, Sec. 4 and 6.
[7] *Cat. Coins Ind. Mus.*, vol. i, p. 16.
[8] *Cat. Ind. Coins Br. Mus.*, Gk. and Scythic kings of Bactria and India, p. 9, footnote.

in Northern India during the third century B.C."[1] In the foot-note regarding the peculiarity of the Kālsī type, he adds: "The Kālsī type is visible in the looped *ja*."[2] What the late Dr. Bühler contends is that the *ja* inscribed on this type of coins resembles the Kālsī type, and so should be taken as belonging to it.

Regarding the morphology of *ja* of this period, Bühler observes: "Die sämtlich aus dem j der Drāviḍī (C. XIII–XVI) abgeleiteten Formen zerfallen in a) nördliche mit der Schleife in C. III (K.M.), mit dem Punkte in C. IV–V (A., DS., DM., R., Bai. I, Ni., Dh., J., Si.) oder mit dem kurzen Mittelstriche in C. II (K., J. S.·Ed., Sah., Rū.), b) südliche in C. VIII, X, XI, XVI (G., Dh., J., Gha.) und in C. IX (G.)."[3] The present writer has very carefully compared the *ja* inscribed on the Dojaka-Negamā type of coins with the Kālsī looped *ja* and has come to the conclusion that there is such a difference in shape between these two *ja*'s that we should certainly take these two *ja*'s as belonging to two distinct types. There is no doubt that these two *ja*'s have loops; but the shape of the left curve and of the right loop in these two specimens are altogether different.

The present author had also the opportunity of examining all the specimens of the Brāhmī-reversed coins of Pantaleon and Agathokles kept in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, for which he thanks the Indian Museum authorities, and finds a remarkable similarity in shape which exists in the *ja*'s found on the Brāhmī-reversed coins of Pantaleon and Agathokles. Moreover, there is a striking resemblance in shape between the *ja* inscribed on the Brāhmī-reversed coins of Pantaleon and Agathokles, on one hand, and the *ja* on the Dojaka-Negamā type of coins. Again the Dojaka-Negamā coins "are found only at Taxila"[4] and the coins

[1] *Indian Studies*, No. iii, p. 48.
[2] Ibid.
[3] *Indische Palæographie*, p. 36.
[4] *Coins, Ancient India*, p. 63.

of Pantaleon and Agathokles "are found both in the Kabul Valley and W. Punjab—those of Agathokles also as far south as Kandahar (C. N. Chr. 1869, p. 41)"[1]; and it is thus quite natural to find the striking similarity in shape between the *ja* inscribed on the Dojaka-Negamā coins and the *ja* on the Brāhmī-reversed coins of Pantaleon and Agathokles. In conclusion, the writer opines that the type of *ja* whose existence has been proved by its presence on these three classes of coins should be taken as a new type, quite distinct from the Kālsī type, of the northern form of the so-called Maurya variety. The origin of this type should be placed at least as early as the fourth century B.C., because Rapson's view seems to be more cogent than that of Cunningham, and its prevalence at least as late as the second century B.C., because Smith's view should be accepted.

C. C. DAS GUPTA.

150.

THREE LETTERS FROM BUDDHIST KINGS TO THE CHINESE COURT IN THE FIFTH CENTURY

I am pleased to be authorized to communicate the following valuable notes by Professor Pelliot, relating to Professor Chungshee H. Liu's communication on the above subject, *supra*, 1933, pp. 897–903.

F. W. THOMAS.

1. Le *Song chou* a à tort (ch. 97) deux notices distinctes, une sur 訶 羅 陁 *Ho-lo-t'o*, l'autre sur 呵 羅 單 *K'o-lo-tan*; nous y gagnons de savoir que le nom de 毗 沙 跋 摩 *P'i-cha-pa-mo* était traduit en chinois 堅 鎧 *Kien-k'ai* "Ferme-armure"; je ne veux pas discuter les restitutions possibles. L'envoyé 毗 紉 P'i-jen de 436 avait déjà été l'envoyé de 430; malgré nos textes, j'incline à lire 毗 紐 *P'i-nieou*, *Viṣṇu*.

[1] *Indian Coins*, Sec. 21.

2. P. 897 : Au lieu de *Yueh-po*, lire *Ye-po* ; il s'agit de la région du Gandhāra.

3. P. 900 : 闍耶仙 *Chö-ye-sien* est surement *Jayasena* ; mais je ne sais que faire de la suite du nom.

4. P. 901 : Au lieu de "Banvan" et "Bantang" lire *P'o-houang* et *P'o-ta*. Au lieu de "Panwoami" les textes ont 槃和沙彌 *P'an-houo-cha-mi*, qui est vraisemblablement *Bhavasvāmin*.

5. P. 902 : La traduction n'est pas très littérale. Ainsi le roi de Kia-p'i-li dit que le lieu où il habite s'appelle 迦毗河 *Kia-p'i-ho*, "Fleuve de Kia-p'i," et est protégé par "le dieu 首羅 *Cheou-lo*". Dans d'autres textes, ce nom de *Cheou-lo* est celui d'un des "huit *yakṣa*", et le Dictionnaire d'Oda Tokunō rétablit *Cuḍa*, bien qu'il y ait des difficultés phonétiques à l'identification.

110.

Dear Col. Hoysted,

In the Society's *Centenary Volume* (1923) I find among the Contributions cited (p. 175) under my name the entry "A Nepalese Vajra, 1916, p. 733"; and in the volume for 1916 the title of the article (pp. 733–5, with plate) is followed by the words "By L. de la Vallée Poussin and F. W. Thomas". That particular collaboration with my old friend and colleague, Professor Poussin, has no place in my recollections, and I suspect a misattribution by the Society's secretariat, in which case there must be long arrears of credit due to the real collaborator.

Yours sincerely,

F. W. Thomas.

CHANSONS POPULAIRES TURQUES DU NORD-EST DE L'ANATOLIE. Recueillies par MARTTI RÄSÄNEN. Studia Orientalia. Edidit Societas Orientalis Fennica, iv, 2. $9\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$, pp. 52. Helsingfors: Librarie Académique, 1931.

The present little work is the continuation of Turkish popular songs collected by the author on the coast of the Black Sea between Trebizond and the Caucasian frontier, and published in 1926 in the *Journal de la Société Finno-ougrienne*, pp. 17–60. It contains thirty-seven popular songs, which include primitive love-songs and some soldiers' songs. They were collected at Trebizond, Atiné, Pindoz, Rizé, and Kirason, in North-Eastern Anatolia. As for their metres, they include two *destāns*, several *mānīs*, and some very primitive verses (*keram-türkülär*) in irregular metres. The songs are published in phonetic transcription and in French translation.

In his preface the author gives his observations on some phonetic phenomena of the Turkish dialects of North-Eastern Anatolia. The most essential differences between these dialects and the literary *Osmānli* language are a less rigorous assimilation of vowels and the phonetic transformation of some consonants.

738. JOSEPH de SOMOGYI.

NAIRĀTMYAPARIPṚCCHĀ. Ed. by SUJITKUMAR MUKHOPADHYAYA, with a foreword by VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA. Visva-Bharati Studies No. 4. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{3}{4}$. pp. ii + 22. Calcutta: Visva-Bharati Bookshop, 1931. Rs. 2.

Contient une introduction (critique justifiée de la traduction française de ce petit traité par Léon Feer, Annales du Musée Guimet, vol. 5, et non pas 50, Fragments extraits du Kandjour), le texte de la traduction tibétaine, le texte sanscrit refait sur cette traduction, le texte sanscrit authentique.

En effet, au moment où Sujitkumar Mukhopadhyaya avait achevé son travail, il eut connaissance de l'article de Sylvain Lévi, "Encore Aśvaghoṣa," qui contient le texte de la Nairātmyaparipṛcchā édité d'après un MS. népalais, et l'auteur reproduit ce texte à la suite du texte restitué.

A première impression, pourquoi le savant tibétanisant-sanscritiste de la Viśvabharatī n'a-t-il pas renoncé à publier le texte sanscrit né de son labeur ? Pour donner, dit le préfacier, *an illustration of the standards which can be reached in Tibetan studies.* En effet j'admire comment, dans la majeure partie du texte, vers et prose, la restitution s'approche de l'original.[1]

948. L. DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN.

L'INDE ANTIQUE ET LA CIVILISATION INDIENNE (*L'evolution de l'humanité, synthèse collective,* XXVI). By P. MASSON-OURSEL, H. DE WILLMAN-GRABOWSKA, and P. STERN. $8 \times 5\frac{1}{2}$. pp. xxii + 497, pls. 16, figs. 24, maps 5. Paris: La Renaissance du Livre, 1933. 40 fr.

This volume, one of an extensive series entitled *L'Évolution de l'Humanité,* strikes me as a very favourable specimen of the French art of *vulgarisation.* It covers the period up to the death of Harsha, with occasional glances at later developments; and an idea of its scope can be gathered from the allocation of space—47 pages to general history, 67 to political, social, and economic life, 127 to religion, 140 to literature, and 65 to art. Throughout, the treatment is precise, the language very clear, and the general result sane and reasonable. Specialists will doubtless criticize various statements or judgments on particular topics, and,

[1] Page 17, l. 2, *nirātmakam* vaut mieux que *nairātmakam* (Lévi et Bhattacharya); l. 5 *asmākam* (Bhattacharya) vaut mieux que *āsmākam* (Lévi); p. 18, les derniers mots du § 14 doivent passer en tête du § 15; l. 12, *dharmāṇām* (Lévi) vaut mieux que *dharmānām* (Bhattacharya). Le premier pāda de la stance 8 est mauvais; le tibétain indique *svargasthānāt.*

though no specialist, I have noticed a few phrases which strike me as likely to mislead; but to explain the points at issue would take more space than they are worth, and I will content myself with one small pin-prick—that the mention of maize on p. 125 may lead the general reader to infer that that staple was grown in Ancient India. Of the ancillary matter, the bibliography (376 titles), if not complete, is at any rate ample for students who want to go further, and there is a useful index. The maps are borrowed from English works, and perhaps French readers are entitled to complain of elevations being given in feet instead of metres, while the unexplained presence of modern canals on Map I may tempt the unlearned into the regions of anachronism. The illustrations have been carefully chosen to show the development of art, and, while the scale is necessarily much reduced, most of them serve their purpose; but even with a powerful lens I can make nothing whatever of Plates XI or XII, the two examples of Ajanta paintings on which the text so largely relies. All deductions made, however, the book is a good one, certainly better than anything of the kind I know in English.

978. W. H. MORELAND.

CATALOGUE OF SANSKRIT MANUSCRIPTS IN THE PANJAB UNIVERSITY LIBRARY. Vol. I. Edited by LABHU RAM. $9\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$, pp. xiii + 138 double pages. Lahore: For the University of the Panjab, 1932.

The University began to form this "Woolner Collection" of Sanskrit manuscripts in 1913. During Principal A. C. Woolner's tenure of the office of Honorary Librarian the collection has grown to a total of 6,782 manuscripts, of which some 2,875 are listed in the present volume. The Library Committee has had the assistance of that veteran collector of MSS., R. Anantakrishna Shastry; and the collection includes some important works in the classes of Veda, ritual literature, and Tantra and Śaiva āgama, with which the

present volume is concerned. Among those which are singled out for mention by Pandit Bhagavad Datta in his introduction are a fragmentary *Kapiṣṭhala-saṃhitā* and rotographs of a *Jaiminīya-saṃhitā* and two *Ṛcaka* MSS. (the originals of which remain in private ownership); Śaunaka's *Pada-vidhāna;* a palm-leaf *Bhāradvāja-śrauta-sūtra* and an almost complete copy of Devayājñika's *bhāṣya* and *paddhati* to the *Kātyāyana śrauta*; two *Kāṭhaka gṛhya* works and a commentary on the *Baudhāyana-gṛhya*; and several Pāñcarātra *saṃhitās.* The present volume is, as the Librarian points out in the preface, simply a hand-list. A descriptive catalogue was planned and begun, but discontinued.

918. H. N. RANDLE.

MAHĀKARMAVIBHAṄGA (La Grande Classification des Actes) ET KARMAVIBHAṄGOPADEŚA (Discussion sur le Mahākarmavibhaṅga). Textes Sanscrits rapportés du Népal, édités et traduits avec les textes parallèles en Sanscrit, en Pali, en Tibétain, en Chinois, et en Koutchéen. Illustré de quatre planches: Le Karmavibhaṅga sur les bas-reliefs de Boro-Boudour, à Java. Par SYLVAIN LÉVI. $9\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, pp. vi + 272, pls. 4. Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1932.

The lengthy intitulation to this notable by-product of the eminent author's labours renders any further expository matter superfluous, and leaves me free to comment on the dozen pages of his Introduction. It appears that, among a number of miscellaneous MSS. submitted to Professor Sylvain Lévi during his second visit to Nepal in 1922, through the courteous aid of General Chandra Sham Shere, the Maharajah's son, he detected one bearing a date corresponding to A.D. 1410–11. This proved to be the Catalogue, or Analysis, of modes of karma and their results, a Buddhist Sūtra, of which we have the archetype in one of two similarly entitled in the Pali Sutta-Piṭaka: (No. 135 of the Majjhima-Nikāya)

the Cūḷa-Vibhanga-Sutta. The book thus becomes a valuable lesson in the history of a religion's scriptures.

We have on the one hand the relatively archaic Pali Sutta. The brahman Subha-Todeyya-putta asks Gotama Śākyamuni why man's fate on earth is so unequal. Their deeds, is the brief grave reply, are their heritage, the matrix of their circumstances here. Exposition is entreated, and *in very general terms*, simple and sober, it is told how man reaps what he has in his past lives sown. Recollecting Gotama's frequent psychic converse with devas, I find nothing here that such an elect man may not have conceivably learnt from worthy advisers in the Unseen. That we have his very words recast into Pali I should be far from admitting. But in worth and dignity the short discourse is one well befitting such a man, and may possibly be a true, if a late garnered, memory. Other such, bearing the marks of *vieille roche*, we find also at the end of the Saṁyutta-Nikāya ; they may possibly have been brought to headquarters during the Mauryan hegemony, when the whole question of revision and standardization, in an oral thesaurus grown unwieldy, appears to have become very pressing.

In the Sanskrit Sūtra, on the other hand, we have a silly story, relegated in the Pali scriptures to the Commentary—the jam round the powder—brought into the text to explain the occasion of its utterance, Subha-Todeyya-putta being now Śuka-Taudeyya-putra. Gotama visits the Brahman house, where in the son's absence the house-dog barks at him. Śuka returns and pursues his visitor, only to learn, after being thrice warned, that the dog is his own father reborn. Śuka, naturally protesting, is sent back to his dog primed with a threefold instruction by which he can make the creature corroborate the truth of the Teacher's saying. Śuka puts this to the test, is convinced, and returns to acknowledge. He then proceeds—as in the old Pali wording, *ko hetuḥ, kaḥ pratyayaḥ*—to inquire into the ups and downs of rebirth in general (*not, be it noted, of the case before him*). The Sage

responds, also in old Sutta idiom, and, "the cackle being cut (or, rather, finished), gets down to the horses"—in other words to the wordy pedantic "Classification", so evidently the work of medieval pundits belabouring the tradition of a great but dead, because not growing, religious mandate.

Very significant for me is the silence in the Pali Sutta on rebirth as animal as compared with the Jātaka chatter about the dog of the Pali Commentary, which has been raised to Sūtra dignity in the Sanskrit recension. It is a silence, almost total, that runs throughout the Piṭakas, once we omit the Jātaka Commentary. Mahā-Pajāpatī's reminiscent verses give us the true, the more original, outlook :—

> Oh! but 'tis long I've wandered down all time
> Living as mother, father, brother, son;
> And as grandparent in the ages past—
> Not knowing how and what things really are
> And never finding what I needed sore . . .[1]

Much editing of their own the Pali Suttas have undergone, yet are we in them, at least in this respect, nearer to that divinization of the man which led religious thought in India at the birth of the Buddhist movement, and with which such a worsening of the man as lies in animal rebirth seems so incongruous. Sharply shall I here be taken up with quotations from the early Upaniṣads. Yes, I know those three passages—are there not only three ?—Bṛhad, Chāndogya, Kauṣītaki, and how the second contradicts the first. Very incongruous are they, too, with the lofty central teaching, as little inherent in it as are the passing allusions of Empedokles and Platō with their main positions. And I believe that, when at last the Upaniṣads come to be sifted by really historical criticism, these three passages will be voted to be glosses, cankers of later decadent editing.

M. Lévi might conceivably judge this to be one of the *hypothèses hâtives et constructions ambitieuses*, which "so many questions left in suspense should give us humility to

[1] *Therigāthā*.

suppress" (p. 12). However that be, his *travail de science austère* leaves me profoundly grateful for a type of scholarly scrutiny, out of which the coming generation of Indologists will build more safely than I can a true history of Buddhist literature.

852. C. A. F. RHYS DAVIDS.

BUDDHIST LOGIC (Bibliotheca Buddhica, XXVI). By TH. STCHERBATSKY, Ph.D. In two volumes. 8¾ × 6. Vol. I, pp. xii + 560 ; Vol. II, pp. vi + 468. Leningrad : Academy of Sciences, U.S.S.R., 1932.

This work sets itself a very ambitious task, but one which the author's known erudition will be held to justify. It claims to be heeded by "the historian of the culture of Asia, the Sanskrit philologist and the general philosopher". Its aim is unquestionably a worthy one : it is to set beside the Western traditional logic another traditional logic, guarding the while the child of the former from reading his own overmuch into the latter, and also conversely, guarding the child of the latter from doing likewise. Herein it is a book which the wider vista of the twentieth century logician should secure for his library.

But he must be prepared for the greater amplitude of a study lacking our advanced specialization. "Buddhist logic" is a system which *includes* both epistemology and a theory of sense-perception. The little *Nyāyabindu*, the oldest known manual on the subject, a translation of which : aphorisms, commentary and *ṭīkā*, these two by Dharmakirti and Dharmottara respectively, forms part of the first volume (published in 1930), starts with sense-perception and inference, with not a few epistemological considerations. All the more will he be grateful to the author for this excellent "Baedeker" in a field so wide. But so perhaps will the reader be also, if I do not here make a synopsis of contents

so ample. The appendixes alone amount to 176 pages, and include translations of four Buddhist-Sanskrit texts.

As to the *Nyāyabindu* I still hold [1] that it is originally a Sānkhya, not a Buddhist text, the Sānkhya contention that the senses do not function for their own pleasure and profit but for an experiencer, a valuer, being affirmed *in the text*. The argument is valid for anyone from then till to-day, save for Buddhists of the decadent *anattā* teaching. And even the commentators glide respectfully past the affirmation, without quarrelling with it. Where Buddhism does quarrel with it is in the *Milindapañho*. Both this Pali and that Sanskrit text ignore the Piṭakan assertions, that "manas", not "man" is the "enjoyer" of sensations.[2] Probably both writers were ignorant of the canonical context. Or, if not, both would wave aside the true enjoyer, the "man", or self, the Sānkhyan, because "he" did not really "enjoy" anything, the *Milinda* author, because the orthodox Buddhist whom he is representing was coming to believe, that the man could only "be got at" (*upalabbhati*) as a mental (in this case) ideational functioning.

Now, that Buddhism which, with Indian thought generally, derived its crude psychology from the movement started by Kapila, should, centuries later, have proceeded to derive its logic also from Sānkhyan sources seems to me highly probable. It is the historic way for a new mandate of psychology, or "how man thinks", to go on to a new mandate in logic, "how man ought to think (consistently)." Sānkhya analysis started in early Buddhism a preoccupation with ways of mind, as distinguishable from the very "self", and orderly like the ways of body. Sānkhyan analysis aimed at throwing the self into higher, because *unworthable* relief. Buddhist monasticism, diverging from its original mandate, used the Sānkhyan analysis for the inverse process of throwing the self out of the picture altogether. Sānkhya culture probably

[1] Cf. my "Sānkhya Logic", *Journal Taisho University*, 1930.
[2] *Majjhima*, No. 43, and *Saṃyutta*, xlviii ("Uṇṇābha").

proceeded to develop its own logic. Buddhism is just as likely, then, to have found Sānkhya logic useful as it had found Sānkhya psychology useful. There might be awkward corners, but Buddhist editors have ever shown great deftness in negotiating them.

One *caveat* remains to be said about the much excellent guidance here provided. In connecting Buddhist logic, i.e. a system of values of the sixth and seventh centuries A.D., with "early Buddhist philosophy", Dr. Stcherbatsky goes back too far, when he brings in the Śākyamuni of 1,200 years earlier as having taught "a very minute analysis of the human Personality". By this he means the crude and misfitting doctrine, discarded by later Buddhist Hīnayanism,[1] of the five *skandhas*. Thrust as this unfortunate quincunx has been by Buddhist pundits into the earliest Sayings, it is out of place in the sixth century B.C. Again, by "Personality" the author means *pudgala*, a term *quite foreign* to the religious terms of the sixth century B.C. and which we see creeping into the Suttas (often in the compromise *purisa-puggala*), betraying as it comes the worsened concept of the Man which was creeping over Buddhism. And then we come to the repetition of the deeply-ingrained error: "This is the first main feature of early Buddhism, its Soul-denial." If by "early Buddhism" is meant the new ecclesiaticism of the centuries *succeeding* that of the Founder's lifetime, I have no quarrel with the tragic statement. So that the Founder's name and those of his first men be kept free from a teaching so irrational, and *so impossible in their day*, let it stand. But keep "the Buddha" out of this "Buddhism"! Or if his title (unknown to the recorders of the first and second Councils) be claimed as a *symbol* of the aftermen's teaching, let us then hear only of Gotama as the real Śākyamuni. If we use the torch of history, let us at least be historical!

877. C. A. F. Rhys Davids.

[1] For *rūpa*, *viññāṇa*, and *cetasikas*, *e.g.* in the *Abhidhammatthasangaha* of the eleventh century.

ENGLAND'S QUEST OF EASTERN TRADE. The Pioneer Histories. By Sir WILLIAM FOSTER. $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. xiv + 355, sketch maps 13. London: A. & C. Black, 1933. 15*s*.

The scope of this book is confined, in conformity with the title, to those voyages and travels which had a commercial object, chiefly expeditions in behalf of the great trading companies founded in the sixteenth century. Private travels, however remarkable in themselves, such as those of Coryat, the "Odcombian leg-stretcher", find no place. Again, only the pioneer and early expeditions are dealt with, and the story virtually closes at the period when the East India Company had settled its agencies in most parts of India, or about the middle of the seventeenth century. Within these limits Sir W. Foster, than whom no one is better qualified for the task, has given a series of accurate records of gallant endeavour, fortitude, and tenacity of purpose.

The chief object of the quest was, in the author's opinion, to find fresh markets for English manufacturers, especially woollen goods, though the prospect of procuring a return cargo of pepper, spices, and other products of the East must also be admitted to have been an attraction. We should not, however, forget the stimulus of that spirit of adventure that has ever prompted men of our race to new discovery, evidence of which is apparent to-day. The outburst of maritime and exploring activity in the fifteenth century, largely inspired by the great Prince Henry "the Navigator", which may be said to have culminated in da Gama's discovery of the Cape route to India, and the exaggerated reports in circulation of the wealth and attractions of the East, including the fortunes to be reaped from traffic therewith, had aroused the interest, if not the envy, of adventurous spirits in England as well as other countries. The wonder perhaps is that, though destined to achieve the widest sphere of influence in the East, England was so many decades behind in embarking upon such enterprise; and Sir William has suggested the causes of this delay:

but once started, she pursued it vigorously throughout the reigns of Elizabeth and James I.

The story begins with the expedition of Willoughby and Chancellor "for the discoverie of Cathay" by the north-east route, which, though it failed like so many other attempts to sail round the north of Asia, had important results. Chancellor alone reached the White Sea. From there he courageously pushed on to Moscow, where he obtained from Ivan IV a letter granting English merchants freedom of trade throughout his dominions. This led to the formation in 1555, under royal charter, of the "Russia" or "Muscovy" Company, whose activities long continued, though eclipsed later by the Levant Co. established in 1581 and the East India Co. chartered in 1600. The voyages of Frobisher, Drake, Fenton, Davis, Cavendish, Wood, Weymouth, Knight, and Hudson are described so far as they concern the quest for Eastern trade, while that of Lancaster, who succeeded in rounding the Cape (1591) and reaching Sumatra and the Straits of Malacca (1592), receives special mention as it led to the adoption by us also of the Cape route.

Among the most noteworthy of the land journeys included in this volume are those of Jenkinson, Newbery, and Midnall. Sir William suggests, with much probability we think, that the account of Newbery's travels printed by Purchas was woven by the latter into the form of a narrative from rough notes recorded by Newbery. Attention has very justly been directed to the cruel irony by which "his due meed of praise has been so long withheld from him, while Fitch, his subordinate, who had the luck to survive and return to his own country, has been hailed as 'England's pioneer to India'." In regard to Fitch some interesting fresh facts have been disclosed relating to his later life. We notice that Fitch has been described as having visited Kachua, Sripur, and Sonargaon in East Bengal; but Fitch writes Bacola, not Kachua, and the identification of Bacola, or Bāklā, with Kachua proposed by the late Mr. H. Beveridge is open to question. Midnall, more familiar perhaps

as Mildenhall, performed in 1600–3 a journey, the remarkable nature of which has scarcely been appreciated hitherto, through Syria, Asia Minor, Persia, Sistan, and Afghanistan to Agra, and he seems to have returned to Europe by the same route. After some years he again travelled overland, as it seems, to India, only to die there.

Some of the most interesting chapters, containing much that will be new to the average reader, are those dealing with expeditions to the Malay Archipelago and our disputes with the Dutch, especially the struggles in the Banda Islands; and here we find justice done at last to the gallant Nathaniel Courthope.

A good index has been provided, and the bibliographical notes will be useful for those who wish for further detail. The sketch maps are helpful, but that on p. 81 is defective. The editors are to be congratulated on having secured the services of Sir W. Foster for the preparation of this volume of "Pioneer History".

891. C. E. A. W. OLDHAM.

GIDS IN HET VOLKENKUNDIG MUSEUM. V: JAVA EN DE KOPERKAMER. 2nd ed. Door C. LEKKERKERKER. 5¼ × 7¾; pp. 132, map on cover 1, plans 2, ills. 14. Amsterdam: Koninklijke Vereeniging Koloniaal Instituut, 1931. F. 0.75. VIII: NIEUW GUINEE. Door J. C. LAMSTER. 5¼ × 7¾; pp. 69, plan 1, ills. 11. Amsterdam: Koninklijke Vereeniging Koloniaal Instituut, n.d. F. 0.50.

No. V of this series of nine sectional guide books to the Amsterdam Ethnographical Museum, whose titles and prices are announced inside the cover, begins with a short account of Java and its people, followed by descriptions of the relevant exhibits in the showcases, under such heads as music and drama, dances and songs, costumes and ornaments, objects connected with transport, agriculture, fishing and hunting,

as well as several others. Twenty pages at the end are devoted to another department of the Museum which houses bronzes and other metal ware from various parts of Indonesia, some Javanese woodcarving, and also foreign, mainly Chinese, porcelain.

No. VIII follows much the same lines, giving a geographical and ethnographical description of Dutch New Guinea, with an account of the customs and beliefs of its inhabitants, and then deals with the exhibits, such as domestic utensils, ornaments, wood carvings, ceremonial objects, boats, weapons, statues, etc.

974. A 77. C. O. BLAGDEN.

A HISTORY OF ISRAEL. Vol. I, FROM THE EXODUS TO THE FALL OF JERUSALEM, 586 B.C., by THEODORE H. ROBINSON. 9 × 5½, pp. xvi + 496, maps 11, 15*s*. Vol. II, FROM THE FALL OF JERUSALEM TO THE BAR-KOKHBA REVOLT, by W. O. E. OESTERLEY. pp. xvi + 500, maps 11, 15*s*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1932.

The history of Israel is here described in two volumes. The first, covering the period of the Bible, is the work of Professor Robinson. He takes his stand on the latest results of Biblical criticism and makes full use of recent archæological discoveries. Notwithstanding, his treatment of the subject is cautious, reverential, and scholarly throughout, and provides an excellent guide from the period of Israel's entry into Palestine to the fall of the Monarchy and the destruction of the Temple by Nebuchadrezzar. The historical books of the Bible, especially for the post-Davidic era, constitute his chief authority, appropriately supplemented with information elsewhere derived, while from the accounts of the earlier period he deduces certain conclusions more or less hypothetical, since they are based on a peculiar treatment of Biblical and especially Pentateuchal records. In the arbitrary manner of the Higher

Critics, the Pentateuch is dissected into many portions, some being assigned to an older, some to a later period, and the conclusions which are thus drawn rest on a particular interpretation of these *membra disjecta*; but Professor Theodore Robinson is not unwilling to accept the historicity of the patriarchs, and still more the natural existence of Moses. Of course, all the relevant passages seem to originate in oral tradition and tribal memories. With the wane of hypercritical tendencies, this section of Ancient History will have to be rewritten more in the spirit of ancient tradition and more in conformity with the origin and growth of a national consciousness experienced by the authors of these literary remains. But from the standpoint of its author, the book presents a scholarly account of the ancient history of Israel.

The second volume, from the pen of Professor Oesterley, deals with the post-Biblical, or rather post-Exilic period, for as some of the books which are found in the Bible are claimed by him to be post-Exilic, the period under review cannot be justly described as post-Biblical. This volume is much more bulky and less impersonal than the preceding one. The author has read into his period much more than some might wish and his conclusions are sometimes open to serious objection. His task, in fact, is not a very easy one. Although he ranges over only seven centuries (a much shorter period than that covered by the first volume), the fact that the data are here less abundant, certainly does not diminish the difficulties in reconstruction.

There are unavoidable lacunæ in the history, since in practice very little is known of the period between the Return and the Hellenistic Age, the conquest of Palestine by Alexander, and later, of the wars among the Diadochi. Josephus is no doubt a very ample mine of information for the later period. There is in the first place the exceedingly difficult problem of the relation between Ezra and Nehemiah, after which a pall of obscurity falls upon events in Judaea and Samaria. The Samaritan schism is treated somewhat

vaguely, in a manner not usually adopted by writers on Jewish History. The author is convinced of the influence upon the Jews of Persian eschatology and traditions, although, as he himself states, no trace of such an influence can be found in any of the ancient writings. Probably for the Jews of the Dispersion the Hellenistic influence was more serious: it should be noted that despite the large percentage of Greeks in the population of many towns, no sign of their influence has been detected among Palestinian Jews themselves.

The Professor's outlook, as far as books of the Bible are concerned, coincides more or less with that of the Higher Critics, and he goes so far as to say that some portions of the Pentateuch may have been due to the activity of the Scribes. How such late documents can have had so profound an influence upon the religious life of the Jews (its depth the author fully appreciates), is a question not easily answered, if we indeed assume that some of the most important parts of the Pentateuch are the work of those who were almost their contemporaries. The Maccabean period is very fairly described, but here again the author accepts the antiquated view of the true character of the Sadducees and Pharisees, and ascribes to the latter an influence unknown to Jewish tradition. They were not religious sects—a point upon which one cannot lay sufficient stress, if the history of the period is to be properly understood. The opposition was between two sections, rivals for political power. The religious element was quite secondary, although of course it cannot be entirely eliminated, in view of the religious tendency of the people.

Yet, in spite of the author's conclusions and the interpretation of events from a special point of view, the book is the work of a scholar who has not only given much thought to his subject, but has earned the deep gratitude of students, no less than has Professor Theodore Robinson, by reason of the lucidity with which they have presented their material. Such a History was a desideratum, and the gap has been satisfactorily filled. Chronological tables and excellent indices

greatly increase its practical value, and the low figure of thirty shillings for the two volumes will certainly bring this History of Israel within the student's easy reach.

700. 701. M. GASTER.

ḤADRAMAUT: SOME OF ITS MYSTERIES UNVEILED. By D. VAN DER MEULEN and DR. H. VON WEISSMANN. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$, pp. xxvi + 248, ills. 97, maps 2. Printed for the Trustees of the De Goeje Fund. Leyden: E. J. Brill, Ltd., 1932.

This is a delightful and most instructive book of travel. Owing to the constant intercourse between Java and Ḥaḍramaut, whose inhabitants migrate to the island in order to prosper under the Dutch government, and having "made their pile" return to build themselves mosques and fine houses, the Chargé d'Affaires of the Netherlands in Jeddah was commissioned to visit the chieftains who rule in the Arabian province; and in order that science might profit by his expedition he took as a companion a German geographical expert. Owing in part to the official character of Van der Meulen, but probably still more to the travellers' wisdom, tact, and linguistic attainments, they met in most places with a cordial reception, and even reached Wrede's objective, the Tomb of the Prophet Hūd, and Bi'r Barhūt, supposed to be the home of lost souls. The latter proved to be not, as was supposed, a volcanic crater, but a group of lengthy caves, a more comfortable residence than its fancied inmates might expect. Hūd appears in one sense to have been the greatest of the prophets, for his tomb is 120 feet long! The expedition threw no light either on his mysterious personality or the process whereby he became associated with the place.

The travellers brought home a rich collection of exquisite photographs, representing towns, villages, scenery, and persons. Although their journey lasted only six weeks, they

were able to furnish a great quantity of fresh information about towns of which little more than the names had previously been known, the institutions, and general conditions of the region. Here too the motor-car has made its way, not yet to the entire supersession of the camel and the donkey, but greatly restricting their employment. Possibly the car will have to yield to the aeroplane, which (we are told) would be the surest expedient for surmounting the greatest obstacles to travel, the intertribal feuds and the long stretches of waterless desert. To these anti-European fanaticism must be added, which in some places is still rife.

Finally, a compliment is due to Miss Barber, of The Hague, who translated the work from the original Dutch. Had not this fact been mentioned in the Preface, it would scarcely have occurred to the reader that the book is a translation.

683. D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

COMPARATIVE TABLES OF MUHAMMADAN AND CHRISTIAN DATES. Compiled by Lieut.-Colonel Sir WOLSELEY HAIG. $7\frac{1}{4} \times 4\frac{3}{4}$, pp. 32. London: Luzac & Co., 1932. 2*s*. 6*d*.

Sir Wolseley Haig has succeeded in compressing into thirty-two small pages the matter which occupies some sixty quarto in the work of Wüstenfeld and Mahler. The principle which he follows is simple: each day of each month can be expressed as the *x*th day of the year; if, then, we know the synchronism for the first day of the year, and have the ordinal number for the day, tables giving the ordinals for the Christian and Islamic months respectively will enable us to find the corresponding day of the month. His work provides the necessary three tables, with provision for Leap-years.

673. D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

La Céramique Musulmane de l'Égypte. Par Aly Bey Bahgat et Félix Massoul. 15 × 11, pp. 97, pls. 80 (5 in colour). Cairo, 1930.

Although the Muhammadan pottery of Egypt has attracted a good deal of attention since Dr. Fouquet undertook his researches and published the result in his *Contribution a l'étude de la céramique orientale* in 1900, a comprehensive survey of the Egyptian School of Muhammadan ceramics has not been attempted before. *La céramique égyptienne de l'époque musalmane*, which appeared in 1922, is merely an album of plates without any letterpress. One of the authors of the present book, M. Massoul, is a well-known technical expert. His colleague, the late Aly Bey Bahgat, was distinguished as a scholar and archæologist, and as Director of the Arab Museum in Cairo was largely instrumental in forming the extensive collection of pottery that the Museum possesses.

A satisfactory account of the progress of the ceramic art in Egypt during the Muhammadan period would show how Egypt contributed to the remarkable ceramic development resulting from Islam. Material for the inquiry is not wanting. The large mass of remains of pottery of the Islamic epoch which has been collected in Egypt doubtless includes specimens of all the various sorts of pottery that were made in the country during the time. But these remnants do not consist solely of pieces of Egyptian make: there was a considerable import of pottery into Egypt. None of the pieces is marked to show where it was manufactured; only a few insignificant ones not older than the fourteenth century bear direct indications of date. Moreover, knowledge of other pottery with which Egyptian pottery requires to be compared, particularly that of Mesopotamia and Syria, is still extremely deficient.

From the book, one learns that the manufacture of fine pottery in Egypt was carried on from at least as early as the ninth century to perhaps as late as the eighteenth century, the earliest form being lustre, which is an Egyptian invention, and that a great variety of types was produced. The different

kinds are brought under divisions, such as lustre ware, coloured glazes, incised decoration, painting under glaze, and graffito. A large number of examples are shown in the illustrations and discussed, their dates being estimated. Nearly all of them consist of fragments too small to convey the full decorative effect of ornamental designs, but some are admirable for their decoration or for their colour, the most remarkable for their artistic merit being ascribed to the Fatimid period (tenth to twelfth century) and to the thirteenth century. A valuable chapter gives a clear explanation of the processes of manufacture and is illustrated by remains of kilns of the fourteenth century and potters' apparatus discovered at Cairo. Another noteworthy item is a collection of passages from medieval Arabic authors alluding to fine pottery in Egypt and to the kilns of the capital in their day.

The reader is warned that the history of the pottery is fatally incomplete and it is evident that the subject cannot be cleared up as far as is desirable until further discoveries are made in Egypt and elsewhere. All will agree that the account given will be most useful in the meanwhile and that it represents a considerable advance on the beginning made by Dr. Fouquet. The book nevertheless will be found to be disappointing in some respects. It is characterized by a certain vagueness and looseness of statement and want of precise fact, as well as by a good deal of unsupported and questionable assertion.

The pottery discussed is not described as systematically and thoroughly as is desirable. The colours and the constitution of the body of pieces are indicated by general statements so that those of individual specimens may be uncertain or not apparent. Inscriptions on pieces are dealt with only casually and partially, some that are obviously important being passed over without notice. Wasters do not receive the careful attention and particularization that they deserve. Where the pottery was found should have been stated. One is left to suppose that the bulk of it came from the

rubbish mounds of Cairo, but that the place of discovery of individual pieces is often unknown, so that there may be nothing to connect some of them with Egypt. As regards the manufacture of Egypt, it may be correct that a certain kind of body is peculiar to Egypt, but the fact requires to be demonstrated before it can be accepted as proved. There seems to be room for doubt whether some pieces of lustre regarded as wasters are really such. At any rate, even if all the evidence brought forward in favour of Egyptian identity is admitted, only a small proportion of the examples can be shown with certainty to be of Egyptian make and for the Fatimid period they include only the work of the potter Muslim. The place of manufacture of the rest depends upon probability and it is often difficult to come to a conclusion with regard to it. Evidence is given of an extensive pottery manufacture at Cairo and doubtless the common pottery used there was made locally; the imports would naturally have included better sorts, and it is conceivable that they may have consisted of a large proportion of the superior pieces.

It is misleading to suggest as is done that there is no difficulty in distinguishing between Egyptian and any other pottery and to declare that the Arabic authors who refer to special varieties of faience without saying where they were made tell us of their fabrication at Fustat. The chapter on the origin of lustre contains several statements for which no proof is given. It omits some important considerations concerning the question, and the argument by which the invention is attributed to Egypt is not convincing. The dating of the pieces depends almost entirely on comparison and thus is liable to large errors. It may be doubted whether a reliable chronological classification more precise than one of broad periods, such as Fatimid, pre-Fatimid, and Mamlûk, can be established, yet, in any case, little reason is shown for dividing the Fatimid pieces into eleventh and twelfth century groups, or for making a thirteenth century Aiyubid division.

The grounds on which the earlier lustre is divided into pre-Tulunid (middle of the ninth century), Tulunid (end of the ninth century), and Ikhshîdid (beginning of the tenth century) seem to be quite insufficient. It is not explained how pottery of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries can be distinguished.

Professor Wiet has had a hard task with the editing. He has managed to supply most of the references that had dropped out and adds warnings where the translation of passages goes beyond the wording of the originals. A certain number of mistakes have not been corrected. Thus under glaze decoration is said in one place (p. 22) to appear for the first time in the eleventh century, but elsewhere (p. 71) in the twelfth. p. xxxiii is headed époque fatimide (xi^e et xii^e siècles), but three out of the eight pieces it displays are attributed to the thirteenth century. There are several false references to the plates in the text. A maker called Ez Zarî' is declared in one passage (p. 94) to have installed his workshop in Egypt, but in another (p. 81) it is said that perhaps his work is foreign. Ibn el Ikhwa is said to have lived in the twelfth century, but he died in A.H. 729 = A.D. 1329.

The date 744, said to be on a piece reproduced on pl. xxxvii, is not to be found there at all. The date 745, said to be reproduced on numerous shards, turns out to be on only one of these to which allusion is made. What the signature on the Kelekian bowl is appears to be doubtful, but it is certainly not Sa'd.

By a strange omission it is not mentioned that Ibn Naẓîf, one of the Fatimid potters, has the appellative El Âmidî attached to his name showing that in some way he was connected with Âmid in Jazîra nor that the figures in the curious scene depicted in fig. 5 of pl. xxxii have the names Abû Ṭâlib, er Rasûl, and Mas'ûd written against them, whence it may be surmised that the subject is a scene in the life of the Prophet. The same expressions are sometimes translated by different terms. Thus *khâfiqîya*, rendered rightly on p. 87 as *grand plat*, is translated on p. 7 as *vase*, a meaning which

does not suit the context. No authority is given for the statement that *khazaf* denotes *terre émaillée* and the dictionaries limit its meaning to clay baked so as to become pottery or made into vessels before it is baked.

The book has suffered from the death of one of its authors before he was able to correct his contribution, but for which it would doubtless have been considerably revised and altered and perhaps entirely recast. Nevertheless it will be of great value to students of Islamic pottery.

N.R. 22. R. GUEST.

THE BRITISH MUSEUM EXCAVATIONS ON THE TEMPLE OF ISHTAR AT NINEVEH, 1930–31. University of Liverpool, Annals of Archæology and Anthropology, vol. xix. By R. CAMPBELL THOMPSON and R. W. HAMILTON. $10\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{1}{4}$, pp. 62, pls. xlvi–xcii. Liverpool: University Press, 1932. 6*s*.

This description of the Excavations in the ruins of Nineveh during 1930–1 occupies pp. 55–116, and is a monograph of much importance. Quite apart from the topographical questions involved, light is thrown upon the worship of Ishtar of Nineveh by its discovery. We know from the Old Testament and numerous Greek and Roman authors how wide the worship of Ishtar (Astarte) extended in the ancient East, and the archaic Babylonian inscriptions show us how ancient was that worship. In Babylon existed a much-venerated temple dedicated to her, and close by was the great Ishtar-gate, uncovered by the German explorers before the war. Noteworthy also is the cult of Ishtar of Arbela, whose fane has yet to be explored, and equally renowned was this extensive structure at Nineveh, sought for first by L. W. King, of the British Museum, and now fully described, as far as it is preserved, by the writers of this monograph.

In the discovery of the site our explorers seem to have been guided by Sennacherib's description of it as he found it when he turned his attention to the temple's restoration.

This the authors give in full (p. 56). It is described as "a solid *libn* foundation", some 6 feet thick. This, covering an area of roughly 300′ × 150′, is proved to be the foundation of the Temple of Ishtar by the inscribed bricks of Asshur-naṣir-pal found in situ. Numerous other records referred to by the explorers also confirm this identification.

Of special interest is the "recorded history" of the temple. How soon after the prehistoric period the temple came into existence we do not know, but it was apparently some time after 3000 B.C. Its first recorded builder was Man-ish-tushu,[1] the son of Sargon of Agadé, about 2450 B.C. This is recorded on Shamshi-Hadad I's cylinder, translated on p. 106. Nineveh was at that time apparently a city of the Babylonian empire. We have still to confirm the identity of Nimrod, but there is but little doubt that Assyria was an Akkadian possession, and may even have been colonized from the south, which would confirm the rendering of Gen. x, 10, "he (Nimrod) went out into Assyria, and builded Nineveh," etc. The other builders include Shamshi-Hadad I, 1840 B.C.; Asshur-uballiṭ, 1386 B.C.; Shamshi-Hadad IV, 1000 B.C.; Asshur-naṣir-pal, 883 B.C.; and Asshur-bani-pal, "the great and noble Asnapper," 668–626 B.C. The texts are cited in every case, and we realize how the various records fit in. Among most noteworthy texts are the numerous fragments of the *zigāti*—upright posts with knobs at the top inscribed circularly with royal inscriptions relating to the buildings in which they were set up, and giving details of the king's reign. These must have been very numerous, and as they were scattered about so plentifully they suggest that reading and writing in the complicated Assyro-Babylonian script was a common accomplishment, and it was supposed that visitors to the temple-courts would be able to read them as they passed by.

The state of the ruins is described on pp. 57 ff., and the

[1] Man-ishtisu in the text published by me in the *Journal* of this Society 1920, pp. 21–4.

views on pls. 46–50 show how flat the "plain of Nineveh", as it may be called, looks. The scantiness of the remains is naturally due to the long period which has elapsed since the abandonment of the site.

The confused state of the ruins may be gathered by an examination of pl. xc. How many Babylonian and Assyrian kings restored or rebuilt the temple of Ishtar besides those referred to in this monograph will probably never be known, but none of them seems ever to have tried to rebuild on the same plan as his predecessor. This was probably due to a desire to erect something larger and possibly better. That they may have succeeded in such a desire is possible, but to what extent the later buildings were better than the earlier will probably never be fully known.

The best summary of the history of the temple appears on p. 75, where the periods are given as follows :—

(1) *Prehistoric with possible Sumerian connection.* (2) An uncertain but probable gap. (3) Man-ishtushu, the first known builder (2450 B.C.). (4) Repair by Shamshi-Hadad I (1840 B.C.). (5) Kassite period, after which Asshur-uballiṭ repaired it. (6) Earthquake, after which it was repaired by Shalmaneser I (1280) and his son Tukulti-En-urta (1250). Another earthquake in the time of Asshur-dan (1187). (7) Repair of the *namiru* of the great lions' heads gate of the great court by Asshur-rêsh-ishi (1120). Dedication of a statue of Ishtar by Asshur-bêl-kala (1080). (8) Shamshi-Hadad IV (?) paves the great courtyard (1000). (9) Renovation by Asshur-naṣir-pal, with pavements and sculptures. (10) Asshur-bani-pal's pavement (not found) and triplicate inscription.

612 B.C. Destruction of Nineveh.

Following this interesting list of dates is a description of the post-Assyrian buildings, for the site still continued to be occupied, and the worship of the old Assyro-Babylonian pantheon was in all probability still carried on. From the viewpoint of many, this cult may have been unworthy of

retention, but it is impossible to eradicate at one stroke an old and deeply-implanted faith. The gods of Babylon are said to have been worshipped even during the early centuries of the Christian era.

Among the artistic finds, and one apparently bearing upon the chronological questions involved, is a very fine old Babylonian head, natural size, probably of copper. From its position in the layers of ruins, it is supposed to have been placed in the temple by Asshur-bani-pal, and in that case it is probably from a statue carried off by Kudur-nanḫundi of Elam about 2285 B.C., and taken to Nineveh by Asshur-bani-pal when he captured Susa. It will be remembered that this Assyrian king brought back on that occasion the image of Ishtar of Erech which Kudur-nanḫundi had likewise carried off. The head is in the ancient Sumerian style, and is therefore of great interest and value.

The pottery-fragments found are numerous, and naturally belong to various periods. They include glazed, incised, and painted ware, the latter especially in bold, mainly geometric designs. Among these are certain animal-forms, sometimes grotesque in their mannerism. There are but few fragments of sculpture, but those from obelisks in the well-known Assyrian style—possibly of the time of Asshur-naṣir-pal, are the best. Numerous arrow-heads of various shapes were found. The vases are of many shapes and sizes, both squat and tall. Part of the decoration of one fragment apparently shows a small tree with its root. In very few cases does delicacy of finish seem to have been aimed at. Among the best examples are several cylinder-seals and impressions of similar artistic engraving. These appear on pl. lxiii, which has also an Arabic inscription, "pot in light-coloured clay with gryphons between two lines of inscription." The figurines of baked clay, which are both human and animal, are, as usual, often very crude. Those of late date show Greek influence.

After the artistic objects come the inscriptions. Many

of the texts are very fragmentary, but the two long inscriptions—those of Shanshi-Hadad and Asshur-naṣir-pal, are of considerable importance—especially the former. This temple of Ishtar was the well-known Ê-mashmash, mentioned several times in Assyrian texts. The interpretation of the second element, *mashmash*, is probably to be found in the renderings *utebubu* and *utelulu*, by which this reduplicate group is translated. The best interpretation of the name is probably "House of supreme brightness", or the like. The shrine of Ishtar within it was called Ê-menu-ê, of doubtful meaning, but as *Menu-annim* (?) and *Menu-nim* (?) are names of Ishtar *sha tanuḫi*, "of lamentation," the question arises whether the shrine here, Ê-menu-ê, may not have been the "temple of lamentation" (for Tammuz).

It is an excellent and very detailed monograph, and the explorers have done their work well. Due credit is given to Sir Charles Hyde, Bart., who financed the explorations, to Mrs. Campbell Thompson, and to her friend, Miss M. Hallett, who also gave valuable personal help.

T. G. Pinches.

830.

Das Weltbild der Iranier. Geschichte der Philosophie in Einzeldarstellungen. Abt. 1: Das Weltbild der Primitiven und die Philosophie des Morgenlandes, Band 1a. By O. G. von Wesendonk. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. 354, map 1. Munich: Verlag Ernst Reinhardt. 1933. Price RM. 6.50, in cloth RM. 8.50.

This work, being part of a general history of philosophy, edited by Gustav Kafka, treats chiefly of Iranian thought regarding the origin and meaning of human life and the nature of that "long life" which follows death. It is also, therefore, largely a history of Zoroastrianism and rightly follows a chronological method of treatment. It breaks off at the point when Persia became a Moslem province and its religious

and philosophical history were merged in the general history of Islam. The author is well qualified for his difficult task and has produced an excellent handbook for the guidance of serious students. Detailed references to the sources and to all the best literature on the many topics treated of are a conspicuous feature of the book.

Dr. von Wesendonk places the lifetime of Zoroaster somewhat before the beginning of the eighth century B.C. (the traditional date being the sixth century B.C.) and strongly emphasizes the distinction between the prophet's teaching and the later system known as Zoroastrianism. A resolute effort is made to extract from the Gathas all the evidence they supply regarding the prophet's own teaching (pp. 63–99). His doctrine is found to be a strict monotheism and the dualism of his system to lie between matter and spirit and not between good and evil as in the later developments. The Yasna haptanghati, upon which the author has already written separately, is treated as embodying the first modifications of the prophet's doctrine made by a priestly class (pp. 102–116). In it conceptions of the popular religion of the period are blended with the prophetical religion of the Gathas, fire (*ātar*) has become an object of worship and the way is being prepared for the identification of the Wise Lord (Ahura Mazda) with the Light and the Sun.

Another main stage in the development is traced by Dr. von Wesendonk with the help of evidence got from the names and records of the Persian kings of the sixth century B.C. and later, from statements by Greek writers and, more fully and precisely, from the later portions of the Avesta. The Zoroastrianism known to the Greek writers of the fourth century B.C. is already clearly a polytheistic faith, distinguished by its conception of a dualistic universe in which good and evil, light and darkness, Ahura Mazda and Angra Manyu, engage in age-long struggle for supremacy. Doctrines of the immortality of the soul and of a final judgment are prominent and characteristic in it.

It was, of course, this familiar form of Zoroastrianism that permeated and influenced the Hellenistic world which was established in the territories of the Persian Empire after the conquests of Alexander the Great. Yet this Zoroastrianism, according to the conclusions of the work under review, was a degeneration, indeed a complete transformation and perversion, of the original doctrine and system of the Iranian prophet.

Of other topics dealt with by Dr. von Wesendonk, mention may be made of the short accounts he gives of the beginnings of Mithraism and Manichæism. Mithra was an ancient Persian god, who was prominent in the pantheon of the later Avesta and was finally given the role of judge of the dead and saviour of the world from the powers of evil. The cult of Mithra acquired a mystery element from the mystery religions of Asia Minor and reached Rome as an independent religious system in the first century A.D. Its triumph in the Roman Empire dates from that period. Manichæism from its origin was a new religion, being established by the prophet Mani in the third century A.D. and presented by him both as a modified Zoroastrianism and as a modified Christianity. Elements from both the older religions were blended in the new faith. The important find of fragments of Mani's writings in the desert of Turfan is now surpassed by the recent discovery of Coptic versions of at least two of his works in Egypt.

Dr. von Wesendonk carefully warns his readers that both his general views and his particular statements often express simply his own individual opinions on matters still awaiting final determination. His negative views regarding the influence of Zoroastrianism on Greek philosophy and on later Judaism may be mentioned as possibly examples of such opinions. There is much in the history of the beginnings of Greek philosophy still to be examined and cleared up before its possible debt to Zoroastrianism can be finally estimated and pronounced upon.

Meantime, however, the reviewer cordially recommends

this handbook both to those who may want a general survey of the field it covers and to those who have a special interest in any part of this field.

849. WM. B. STEVENSON.

DIE GOTTHEIT CHRISTI BEI AFRAHAT. By IGNATIUS ORTIZ DE URBINA, S.J. $9\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{3}{4}$, pp. vi + 140. Rome: Pont. Inst. Orientalium Studiorum, 1933. Lire 25.

This treatise is an interesting study of what Afrahat, or Aphraates, the earliest Syriac "Father" (A.D. 337–345), meant by "God" (ܐܠܗܐ), a question often overlooked by persons who write about the theological standpoint of ancient authors. On p. 52, Dr. Ortiz de Urbina points out that "God" in modern use means the ultimate Supreme Being, the *Urwesen*. But it requires demonstration that θεός in Greek or *Alāhā* in Syriac means as much. The early Christian teaching had been that the Father of All has no name and that θεός is a human appellation like "Lord" or "Father", to be explained from its etymology. About this there was some difficulty, some deriving it from τιθέναι, some from θέειν "set in motion", some from θεᾶσθαι. Thus θεός does not properly denote the Divine Essense, but is to be reckoned in the same category with other epithets for "God" (p. 59).

Dr. Ortiz de Urbina excuses himself from investigating the implications of the meaning of *Deus* on the ground that Latin influence can hardly have reached to Aphraates. That *Deus* is something more than θεός is reflected even in modern typography, where *Deus* almost always gets a capital, whereas θεός is without one. More important is the addition of the clause "very God from very God" in the Nicene Creed. Unless θεὸν ἐκ θεοῦ was inadequate in meaning, the addition of θεὸν ἀληθινὸν ἐκ θεοῦ ἀληθινοῦ is mere tautology.

Somewhat similar to θεός in Greek is אלהים in Hebrew. The true God may call others "God", but men or angels may not take the appellation for themselves. Only the true

God is האלהים, i.e. ὁ θεός with the article. Unfortunately Syriac is practically without an article, so that *Alāhā* might mean "a god" as well as "God".

All this has as its general object to discount the unfavourable impression that Aphraates's Homily XVII makes on systematic theologians, trained in Greek modes of expression. The Homily is directed against the Jews and appears to be an *argumentum ad hominem*. Dr. Ortiz de Urbina defends the essential orthodoxy of Aphraates (which never was called in question by the Syriac-speaking Church), but he does not go beyond my conclusion (*Early Eastern Christianity*, p. 90) that the Homily is an echo of John x, 33–6. If that passage had been found only in an apocryphal Gospel, would theologians have pronounced it orthodox?

On p. 127, our author confesses that it "uns heute höchst fremdartig klingt", when Aphraates calls God and the Holy Ghost severally the Father and the Mother of a Christian man. It might be retorted by Aphraates that to call the Spirit "the *Lord*, the giver of life" is equally an unjustifiable ascription of sex. The "Word", it may be remarked, is also feminine in early Syriac. The true moral, as it seems to me, is to recognize the metaphorical and inadequate nature of any human description of the career or function of the word of God, at least before Jesus came to His full self-consciousness, and to admit that different languages and different civilizations will express such high speculations differently.

Some of the Greek is not too correctly printed. p. 53, for πάντον read πάντων; for ὄνομά τι read ὀνόματι; p. 54, for δυσεξηγήτοι read -γήτου. On p. 92, note 20, for 3^{12} read 2^{11} (= Titus, Greek text, p. $1^{11, 12}$).

995. F. C. Burkitt.

A Santal Dictionary. Vol. I. By P. O. Bodding. 11 × 7½. Part 2, pp. 154–440: Part 3, pp. xvi + 212. Oslo: Norwegian Academy of Science and Letters, 1929–1932.

The Santals are the largest of the aboriginal tribes inhabiting

Chota Nagpur and the surrounding districts of Bihar and Bengal which lie to the south of the Ganges. They are also found in North Bengal and Assam, numbering about two and a half millions according to the last census, and Santali is the most widely used of all the aboriginal vernaculars. They are essentially a people of the backwoods, living in small villages and maintaining themselves chiefly by agriculture and hunting. In this world's goods poorer even than the average *ryot*, the Santals are rich in the possession of a language which is a treasure-store for the expert philologist but a weary cacophony for the plain, blunt Englishman when first he sets himself to study it; and yet to those who, through much travail, have mastered its intricacies, a wholly delightful medium of speech.

It is safe to say that Mr. Bodding's *Dictionary* will remain for many years the standard authority on Santali, and this rich fruit of his labours places the Santal people and all who study their language very deeply in his debt. The issue of Parts 2 and 3 (up to *ch*) completes Vol. I of his monumental work. We understand that the *Dictionary* is nearing completion in manuscript, and it is to be hoped that the publication of the remaining volumes will not be unduly delayed.

In his introduction, which is printed at the end of Part 3, the author expresses his indebtedness to the Rev. L. O. Skrefsrud, whose Santali vocabulary was the starting-point of his own work, and also to the Rev. Dr. Andrew Campbell, who, in 1899, produced the first Santali Dictionary. The present work was begun by Mr. Bodding in 1903, and for two years he gave the greater part of his time to it, but it had to be laid aside for about twenty years owing to the demands of other activities,[1] and it was not till 1924 that he was able again to devote his undivided attention to literary work. The lapse of time is not to be entirely regretted, for, during

[1] Mr. Bodding is a missionary in the service of the Santal Mission of the Northern Churches (the Lutheran Churches of Norway, Denmark, and N. America).

these years, Mr. Bodding was living amongst the Santals and he acquired an unrivalled knowledge of their mentality, their folk-lore and traditions, and their habits and customs, which has made him the foremost living authority on the people. In addition to his intimate knowledge of the Santals and their modes of thought, Mr. Bodding brings to his task ripe scholarship and a weighty reputation as a philologist.

The excellence of the *Dictionary* owes much to the method of compilation followed by the author. No word is accepted at second hand, but each word in the lists which he has collected is "tested and re-tested as to its meaning and use" before it is finally accepted, and he has never less than three Santals with him while working on the dictionary. Santal women have also been employed with the object of ensuring accuracy in special women's words and phrases not generally used by men. These include a considerable number of highly-seasoned terms of abuse and invective of rich variety!

In the case of almost every word, sentences with an English translation are given to exemplify the meaning, all the examples having been taken down from the lips of Santals. This is particularly valuable in a language which is often given to cryptic usage, and the examples serve the further purpose of illustrating the common laws of syntax as well as of giving some insight into the Santal's mode of thought. Mr. Bodding mentions in the introduction that the translation of these illustrative sentences is literal, "as far as this is possible, even with some disregard for the exigencies of good English." Here and there one finds a needlessly cumbersome periphrasis or an inappropriate word which obscures the meaning, and there are several occasions in which he just misses the English idiom. For example, *Cao beohar dọ bạnuk'taea* is translated "She has no behaviour" instead of "She has no manners"; *Thoṛae che̱lo̱ket'mea, baṅkhanem goc' utạrkok'a* is translated, "He grazed you a little, else you might have been downright killed"; *Bạni lagaoket'lea mõrẽ pạire mõrẽ poakate*, "We had to pay for the work after five quarters

to five seers," where the meaning is, "We had to pay for the work at the rate of five quarters for five seers." Again, "youngs" is repeatedly used as a plural substantive. There are instances where a closer knowledge of colloquial English would have provided a more exact rendering of the Santali expression, but the general excellence of his translation is on such a high level that it is perhaps a little ungracious to point out minor blemishes.

Hindi, Bengali, Desi, and other equivalents of the Santali words are given where similarities exist or where Santali has adopted a foreign word. Occasionally, the Magyar equivalent is given, and there is a suggestion in the introduction that Mr. Bodding believes that Magyar and Santali belong to the same language stock, or at least that there has been a close relationship between them in the remote past. He also refers to the fact that some pure Sanskrit words not heard in present-day Hindi are in current use in Santali and the question arises as to whether such borrowed words are really Aryan in origin, or whether they were borrowed by the Aryans from a non-Aryan language.

Words relating to Santal customs and other ethnological matters are accompanied by a brief account of the particular custom, etc., and the author proposes to publish an index of such ethnological terms which will make for easy reference and will form a valuable appendix to his *Dictionary*.

Mr. Bodding has some criticisms to make of Campbell's *Santali Dictionary*, in the light of which improvements have been made in the recently-published second edition of that work. On one point, however, Dr. Campbell's successors in the Church of Scotland Mission to the Santals will join issue with Mr. Bodding, namely, when he takes exception to Campbell's belief that only *w* and no *v* is found in Santali. Certainly *v* as we sound it in English is not heard in Santali, and where Mr. Bodding uses *v*, Campbell and his successors invariably use *w* as accurately representing the Santali sound. It will be argued on both sides that the difference of opinion

is due to faulty hearing, and they must agree to differ as to whether the blame lies with the Scandinavian or with the Anglo-Saxon ear. In this connection we may note that *j* as the Santals sound it is frequently softened into *y* by Scandinavians speaking Santali, whereas it ought to have the full value of an English *j*. It is only fair to add, however, that it is exceedingly rare to find a non-Santal, either Indian or European, who, no matter how fluently he speaks Santali, will not betray his origin by a lapse in pronunciation sooner or later.

Roman script is firmly established as the best medium for writing Santali. Neither Hindi nor Bengali characters lend themselves easily to modification by the use of diacritical signs, and these languages are lacking in certain vowel-sounds common in Santali such as can be represented in Roman script by adding signs to the written vowels. The signs used in the *Dictionary* are those which have been brought into current use largely through Mr. Bodding's own writings. Scientific phoneticians would have preferred him to use the script recommended by the International Phonetic Association, but, as he points out, the Roman script with diacritical signs is of much greater use for practical purposes. As regards spelling we note that in writing the future and present tenses of *hoe*, the verb *to be*, he has preserved the root and writes *hoeoǩa* and *hoeoǩkana*, instead of *hoyoǩa* and *hoyoǩkana* as these are usually spelt. The change, besides preserving the root of the verb in the written word, is phonetically accurate.

The *Dictionary* is published by the Norwegian Academy of Science and Letters and is printed in Oslo. The printers are to be complimented on their work, which is in every respect worthy of the author's erudition.

A. 10. WILLIAM DEMPSTER.

L'HONNEUR CHEZ LES ARABES AVANT L'ISLAM. Étude de Sociologie. By BICHR FARÈS. Preface de M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes. 9 × 5¼, pp. xiv + 226. Paris: Librairie d'Amerique et d'Orient Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1932.

"L'honneur n'est pas chose vaine" is not an auspicious beginning, but M. Farès improves as he goes along. He endeavours to establish the authenticity of the poetry of the *Jahiliyya*, and, where it cannot be established, to admit pseudographs as evidence for the customs and feelings of the Arabs before Islam, except where religious bias is evident. He confines himself to a criticism of Ṭāhā Ḥusayn's work, and does not reply to Professor Margoliouth's article in the JOURNAL, 1925, p. 417, to which he refers in a footnote. Those who believe that the ancient Arabs have left us some of their poetry will probably hold that belief for reasons other than those given by the author, while sceptics will hardly be convinced that they ought to change their ground. M. Farès is wise in extending the field of his inquiry to early Arabic literature generally.

What is implied by "honour"? It is not the chivalry فُتُوَّة of the Middle Ages, nor the *virtus* مُرُوَّة of the ancient world. Nor is it exactly the شرف of our own day, for modern usage has modified the original meaning. M. Farès argues that عِرْض is the word; that it corresponds to *madḥ*, and that outrage (*dhamm*) corresponds to dishonour.

The best part of the book is the analysis of the concept of honour with illustrations and references from early literature. The author uses Arabic sources, especially the Aghānī, in an interesting way, but practically ignores the work of Orientalists who do not use the French tongue. When he writes of the modern Beduin he ignores Doughty and Philby. An exception is Robertson Smith's *Kinship* (which could not possibly be overlooked in a study of this kind), and this he might have

used to greater advantage in his discussion of the Arab tribal system. He is probably right in insisting that the reason for putting female infants to death was the aversion to multiplying non-combatants, rather than lack of food; impotence in war was the cause: famine the condition.

He concludes by affirming that a sense of the claims of tribe and family served the ancient Arab in the place of religion. Loyalty, hospitality, bravery, chastity, and manliness, were promoted; and a man was a gentleman in so far as he displayed these qualities in society. Honour, then, was duty, public and private, enforced by no law other than public opinion. But the pressure of censure through the *hijā'* was so great that no formal law was needed till Islam, as the author claims, embraced *l'honneur* within its code.

878. ALFRED GUILLAUME.

BYZANTINE CIVILIZATION. By STEVEN RUNCIMAN. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. 320. London: Edward Arnold, 1933. 16*s*. net.

A survey of this large field of historical research was much needed. Since Oman's *Byzantine Empire* in the "Story of the Nations" series a generation ago, nothing has been attempted in English except chapters in general histories, and articles in the encyclopædia; while immense advances have been made in almost every aspect of this long period. For eleven hundred years the Byzantine Empire remained continuous, if not stable, in a world where almost everything else collapsed or changed. Though its wonderful constitution was modified in detail, it remained in principle the same, and adapted itself with remarkable facility to successive stresses, internal, or imposed by its frequent wars with aggressive neighbours to north and to east. For the contemporary West, indeed, it seemed always the same, at all events till the disastrous capture by a Western enemy, and his destruction of accumulated wealth and artistry. It is this quality of continuity, indeed, which it has been Mr. Runciman's aim to characterize and illustrate; and herein he has succeeded,

for the book has unity and clarity, throughout its necessary masses of detail, that could not have been achieved otherwise.

The first chapters illustrate this best. The foundation of Constantinople was one of the world's great political experiments, and Constantine succeeded, where Lysimachus and Diocletian had failed, because he laid his plans on lines large enough to make "New Rome" at the same time an expression of what Hellenism, and Roman Empire, and Christianity respectively and together, had come to mean in the world. In the "new synthesis" it was perhaps inevitable that Christian, and through Christian other Oriental ideas should come to predominate. The West, indeed, during long centuries had so little more to give, after Justinian had held fast that which was still good in it. "The citizen of Constantinople," as Mr. Runciman says, though "fully conscious of his Greek and Roman heritage", yet "took less joy in the world, dwelling rather upon the eternities"; but it was, nevertheless, to Byzantium that the West in due time was to owe most of the classical traditions that it holds dear; and it was to Byzantium, as the repository of culture, of all that made life worth living, that the *Romaioi* of the provinces continued to look through the long centuries of the Byzantine regime.

It is one of the perplexities of historians that, beyond the more picturesque and dramatic episodes, history tends to be a procession, or at best a pageant rather than a drama. But Mr. Runciman's "Historical Outline" has more than the elements of a plot, and is skilfully connected with the chapters on special aspects; beginning with the constitution and the "reign of law" which is so characteristic of the Byzantine outlook; the administration which gave effect to the Emperor's will, and to the legal code; the patriarchate in its relation to the empire, to the other churches, and to Christian belief and practice; and the public services, where successive crises of foreign politics enforced more drastic reorganization than in the civil service or even in finance.

Round these fundamental structures it is easier to group the less highly organized activities of trade, society in town and country, education, learning, literature, and art; and to estimate finally the influence of Byzantium on the "neighbouring world", to the north, to the east on Saracens and Turks, and to the west before the Crusades and again after the Renaissance. Some of these later chapters are perhaps inevitably more sketchy. It is difficult to discuss art without illustrations, or literature without quotation; but there is also less confident grasp of the subjects or wholes, more dependence on abstracts of well-known authorities. It is on the political rather than on the æsthetic side of history that one feels Mr. Runciman's own interests to lie.

There are a few slips and omissions. On p. 51 "republicans" should be "republics"; p. 141, *drungarius* and *klissura* should be explained; p. 154, is there not more to be said about "Greek fire", p. 211 about the roads, and p. 231 about "schedography", and the pronunciation of Greek? On p. 268, at Jerash, is it a mosaic *map* of Alexandria? On p. 235, Anaximander should belong to the *sixth* century; p. 236, Cosmas' high mountain was surely at the north not the west of his world; p. 262, "Skiprou" should be "Skripou"; p. 226, "Pacomius" and "Pachomius" stand side by side; p. 275, "smelting" should be "fusing"; and p. 40, is "disgruntled" canonical? But these are easily amended in the second edition which may be anticipated for so useful a volume.

861. J. L. MYRES.

ZEITSCHRIFT FÜR VERGLEICHENDE MUSIKWISSENSCHAFT. Edited by ROBERT LACHMANN in conjunction with E. M. VON HORNBOSTEL and JOHANNES WOLF. [Gesellschaft zur Erforschung der Musik des Orients. Jahrgang 1, Nr. 1.] $9\frac{1}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, pp. 24 + 4 (music, etc.). Berlin: Max Hesses Verlag, 1933.

This is the first issue of a quarterly review which is to be

the mouthpiece of the new "Society for Research in Oriental Music", founded not long ago by Professors Johannes Wolf and Erich M. von Hornbostel, of the University of Berlin, and Dr. Robert Lachmann, of the Staatsbibliothek, three names which, in themselves, augur well for the future of the society. It is true that only Lachmann can claim to be an orientalist, and his writings have been specially devoted to the music of the Orient (see *JRAS.*, 1929, 940), yet the adhesion of Wolf and von Hornbostel means that the best critical work in the history and physics of music are to be at the disposal of the new society.

The quarterly aims at publishing articles on the comparative study of the music of the Orient in German, English, French, and Italian, together with reviews of books, music, and gramophone records connected with the subject. This first issue contains two forewords, "Zum Geleit," by Wolf, and "East and West", by A. H. Fox Strangways the author of the "Music of Hindustan" and the editor of "Music and Letters". Von Hornbostel and Lachmann write on "Asiatische Parallelen zur Berbermusik" with interesting examples of *badawī* songs from South Arabia collected by Hans Helfritz in 1931–2. Alexis Chottin, who is, I believe, attached to the "Service des Arts Indigènes" at Rabat, in Morocco, contributes an article on the "Instruments, Musique et Danse Chleuhs". These latter (الشلوح) are Berbers in South Morocco. The author believes that the pre-Islāmic *shā'ir* declaimed his *qaṣīda* to the accompaniment of the *rabāb*. It may have been so, but, frankly, we have no *evidence* of it, although a manuscript in my possession contains a sentence which runs—"The *rabāb* is an instrument of the people of Khurāsān and Al-Khalīl [ibn Aḥmad] says that the ancient Arabs sang their poems to its voice". Chottin, with Prosper Ricard, has recently issued the first fascicle of his *Corpus de musique marocaine* containing a *nauba* (suite d'orchestre) in the *ṭab'* (mode) called *'ushshāq*. Lachmann reviews this work. It is to be hoped that this

corpus is to be something better than the *Repertoire de musique arabe et maure* issued by Yafil and Rouanet at Algiers some years ago. The most valuable part of the new quarterly is a very complete bibliography of publications on Oriental music. It manages, however, to omit my *Historical Facts for the Arabian Musical Influence*, 1930.

838. H. G. FARMER.

LA CHINE ET LA FORMATION DE L'ESPRIT PHILOSOPHIQUE EN FRANCE (1640–1740). Par VIRGILE PINOT. 10 × 6½, pp. 480. Paris: Librairie Orientaliste, Paul Geuthner, 1932.

DOCUMENTS INÉDITS RELATIFS À LA CONNAISSANCE DE LA CHINE EN FRANCE DE 1685 À 1740. Par VIRGILE PINOT. 10 × 6½, pp. 190. Paris: Librairie Orientaliste, Paul Geuthner, 1932.

The eighteenth century saw, in Europe, not only a strong current of Chinese fashion or *mode*—that is, a taste for Chinese curios, *bibelots*, etc., a taste lavishly indulged in by Mme de la Pompadour—but also a strong current of Chinese influence on the ideas and morals of the time. A discussion of this influence, in contradistinction to the *mode*, forms the theme of Dr. Pinot's thoroughly documented volumes.

The first contains a careful analysis in two books: I, Les sources de la connaissance de la Chine; II, La découverte de la Chine et la formation de l'esprit philosophique.

Book I contains three long chapters entitled respectively: Jésuites et Missionaires, La Querelle des Cérémonies chinoises, and Les écrits des Jésuites sur la Chine.

Book II has the same number of divisions and deals with: L'Antiquité de l'Histoire chinoise et la Chronologie, La Philosophie et la Religion des Chinois, La Morale et la Politique des Chinois. A synthesis of the whole is contained in a masterly Conclusion.

Dr. Pinot shows clearly how Voltaire, in spite of his views, agreed with the Jesuits in declaring " que les philosophies chinois ne sont pas athées, et que la philosophie et l'athéisme ne peuvent se concilier ni en Chine ni en France ".

The second volume under notice deals with unpublished correspondence from the Bibliothéque Nationale and the Bibliothéque de l'Observatoire, Paris. The letters printed are those from de Focquet to Et. Fourmont, l'abbé de Rothelin, and l'abbé Bignon, and those of Fréret to Fathers Gollet, Gaubil, de Prémare, de Mailla, and others.

Both books are invaluable for any study of Chinese-European relations in the eighteenth century.

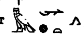
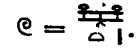
650, 649. FLORENCE AYSCOUGH.

LES TEXTES DES TOMBES DE THOUTMOSIS III ET D'AMÉNOPHIS II. By P. BUCHER. $14\frac{1}{4} \times 10\frac{3}{4}$, pp. viii + 224, pls. 42. Tome premier. (Mémoires . . . de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire. Tome soixantième.) Le Caire: Imprimerie de l'Institut français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1932.

The Book of *Imy-Dwȝt*, a production drawn up by the Theban priesthood of Amun to increase the prestige of their god and their own material wealth, is found reproduced in many funerary papyri and on many tomb walls as a guide to the deceased along with similar guides, such as the Book of *Prt-m-hrw* and the " Book of Gates ". The texts of the tombs of Thutmosis III and of Amenophis II both contain the Twelve Hours of the Book of *Imy-Dwȝt*, plus the lists of gods appropriate to each hour or division of the *Dwȝt*, and the shorter or summarized form of the Book. In the tomb of Amenophis II these make up the entire complement of the one inscribed chamber, the pillars being devoted to representations of the king before Osiris, Hathor, and Anubis; in that of Thutmosis III, where two chambers and pillars are

inscribed, there are certain additions, viz. lists of the hour-deities and a formula for recitation at sunset.

A complete description, with plates, plans, and sections, of these two tombs was published by M. V. Loret, the discoverer, in *Bull. Inst. Ég.*, 3rd series, No. 9, and M. Bucher has therefore confined himself in his introduction to the first volume to a statement of the relative positions of the texts upon the walls and their state of preservation.

In the printed text each tomb is dealt with separately, and the corresponding portions are not arranged together one under the other, as might perhaps be desirable for purposes of comparison. The sign of the goose (Gardiner, No. G 38) has rightly been employed in all cases where the scribes (scribes and not sculptors, since the texts were copied out from a papyrus and written upon the walls in linear hieroglyphs in red and black ink) used it to represent other birds. This was not always done through confusion or laziness, but was often part of the system of secret writing in which the names of places and deities of the *Dwꜣt*, or descriptions of them, were frequently rendered, a transcription into normal hieroglyphs usually accompanying the secret version. This type of writing, it should be noted, is merely an attempt to enshroud the names concerned in mystery, and does not work on the same principles as that "enigmatic" writing discussed, for example, by Dévéria in *Bibl. Ég.*, tome v, p. 49, and by Professor Sethe in *Theban Necropolis*, p. 1*. By the system used here, words are often represented merely by their determinatives, or are spelt phonetically by the employment of homophones and rebus, e.g.  = *tpt-r*. We are thus afforded clues to the pronunciation of certain words in Egyptian at this period (compare, for example, the rendering of the preposition  by ). Use is also made of abbreviations such as  for , and of conventions like .

The photographic plates at the end of the book, to the number of xlii, cover all the texts and scenes and are excellently clear.

771. M. F. LAMING MACADAM.

THE CITY WITHOUT WALLS. Arranged by MARGARET CUSHING OSGOOD. London: Jonathan Cape, 30 Bedford Square. 15s. net.

To set forth the drama of human life has been Mrs. Hamilton Osgood's aim in collecting the writings which make up this fine anthology, and she is well fitted to do it out of the wide experience of life and literature which has been hers. Now, at eighty-five, she gives us the ripe fruit of that experience. In this anthology we have a comprehensive choice of writings fraught with wisdom, derived from many lands and many ages. Saints and poets, prophets and teachers, authors, sacred and profane, have made their contribution to it, and the writers of Christianity and Judaism, of classical paganism, and of the great religions of the East, have been called upon to give of their best to make up this great collection of literary gems, which will be a source of enrichment to all who have access to it.

It is fitting that an anthology with such an aim should begin with the Absolute Reality, "I am that I am," the conception of the Divine Essence as found in many forms among many peoples. "God is day and night, winter and summer, war and peace, satiety and hunger," wrote Heraclitus, "but He is changed just as fire, when mingled with different kinds of incense, and is named after the flavour of each," it may be as the Spirit of Spirits, Aton, the Beginning of Life, of ancient Egypt; or the ageless Brahma, the Unfading, of the Upanishads; or the Olympian Zeus, set up in visible form by Phidias; or the Lord God Almighty, "in Whose hand is the Soul of every living thing and the breath of all mankind." We have here Mrs. Osgood's selection from the

attempts of the human mind to reach out to the Infinite, whether that Infinite be called Brahma, Allah, Jehovah, or Christ, and we see humanity kneeling, in awed and silent adoration, overwhelmed by its consciousness of the all-pervading Presence of God.

The anthology proceeds to show how the One Divine Essence becomes manifested in creation and life, so that "the whole Universe is the sense, life, soul, body, and image of the Most High God". Mrs. Osgood is prepared to find truth in all creeds, and she gives us extracts from the teaching of the Buddha, of Muḥammad, of the Chinese sages, the Christian saints, and the spiritual teachers of all nations and all faiths. We read here what the wisest minds of all the ages have written of the Godhead, and Nature, and all that concerns human life, including sections on the Elements, on "Human Love", on "Time and Eternity", on "Music and Dance", as well as on "Silence and Meditation". But that which has concerned humanity more than all else has always been its relation to the Divine, and it is fitting, therefore, that the last section of all should deal with Prayer, whereby man "shall find all that he can ask", since Prayer, as Jeremy Taylor tells us, "is of itself nothing but an ascent of the mind to God".

This anthology is plainly the work of one who takes the mystical point of view, holding that all Being is a unity and that the soul of man is Divine, as the Roman poet wrote, "One life through all the immense creation runs—And in all substance is a single soul."

So, too, the Christian mystic, writing many centuries later, conceived of the soul as "a spark of the Universal Soul-Body . . . the Unseen Witness, the Divine Guest that no corruption or sin of the body . . . has power to taint or shadow by its proximity". But since the soul came from God, so unto God it must return, and become again what it was before time began, one with the Divine, as Virgil tells us in lines quoted here :—

"To God again the enfranchised soul must tend,
He is her home, her Author is her End.
No death is here; when earthly eyes grow dim
Starlike she soars and Godlike melts in Him."

The path of return, so the mystic teaches, is through knowledge of the Divine, whereby death is conquered, and salvation is attained.

This anthology is imbued with a spirit of lofty optimism, and Mrs. Osgood has a message of hope for a generation oppressed by despondency, uncertainty, and unrest. She holds that the true destiny of man is to press onwards and upwards until he reaches his appointed end as a citizen of that City with foundations "whose Builder and Maker is God", and so becomes a partaker of Infinite and Eternal Life.

While any reader of this book must be filled with appreciative gratitude for what, to Mrs. Osgood, was plainly a labour of love, there are one or two criticisms to be made. Dionysius, the so-called Areopagite, whom Mrs. Osgood assigns to the first century A.D. (p. 243) was most probably a Syrian monk (pupil of the heretical Stephen Bar Sudayli), whose writings belong to the end of the fifth century or beginning of the sixth. Also, though it seems ungracious to ask for more when so much has been given to us—for this anthology runs to more than seven hundred pages—an index, at least of the authors included, would have added greatly to the value of the book, and the lack of it is a considerable drawback from the point of view of the reader, the more so because, having once read this anthology, he will not fail to return again and again to a study of the rich treasures which it contains, seeking therefrom inspiration and counsel and hope, and he would have been still more grateful to Mrs. Osgood had she provided an index wherewith to facilitate that search.

900. MARGARET SMITH.

The Nicobar Islands and Their People. By Edward Horace Man, C.I.E. $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{3}{4}$, pp. x + 186, plates 32, maps 3. Guildford: Billing & Sons for Royal Anthropological Institute.

To all who have shared in the administration of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands during the present century the name and record of Horace Man have been a real source of inspiration and it may safely be claimed that this book with its introductory memoir of the author by Sir David Prain will not only be generally welcomed by all those interested in the Nicobars, but will form a valuable addition to the existing authoritative literature dealing with these islands. I refer particularly to the Census reports by Sir Richard Temple and Messrs. Lowis and Bonington and to the works of the missionary, Mr. Whitehead, and the naturalist, Mr. Boden Kloss. This book is made up in part from papers that have appeared in scientific journals and in part from notes left by Mr. Man, but hitherto unpublished. The text does not indicate the precise sources except in the case of chapter xiv. Mr. Man served for thirty-two years in the Andaman Administration, and surviving his retirement for twenty-eight years, died only four years ago at the age of 83. He was known not only as a temperate champion of primitive races but as a trained and intensely painstaking observer and recorder in anthropology and linguistics.

All that he has to say in this volume is of value for it is the outcome of years of close application to his subject beginning at the time of our first contacts with the Nicobarese and ceasing only with his death sixty years later. Partly by chance and partly by design the degree and nature of our control of the Nicobars have combined to prevent racial deterioration or indeed any great change taking place. The government has suppressed "devil murder", that cruel ceremony of capital punishment inflicted by the community in former days on any person displaying perverse and inordinate bad

temper, but with this exception there has been little direct interference in the internal government of the Nicobarese. We have given the more populous islands some education and to a small section the real benefits of a broad-minded christianity, but possibly the chief factor in preserving the age-long culture and contentment of the Nicobarese has been the exclusion of all undesirable aliens and the strict control of such aliens as are permitted to reside for purposes of trade. Thus it is that the picture presented by this book based though it is on observations recorded between the years 1869 and 1901 is true to existing conditions. In striking contrast with many other ocean races the Nicobarese with the exception of the small lethargic sections in the Southern Islands are today much what they have always been as regards health, physique, and the many happy and lovable characteristics depicted in these pages by their old friend and protector.

There is a line of policy recommended by the author forty years ago which is now challenged by informed opinion. He suggests colonization of suitable unoccupied land in the Southern Nicobars by Chinese. There is now a pronounced increase in the population of the northern islands and it is right from every point of view to retain all vacant land for the probable overflow from Car Nicobar rather than to attempt to create a considerable alien colony.

On page 109 *Birgus latro*, the robber crab, is stated to be a serious local pest of the coco-nut, but this crab is recorded only from South Sentinel, a small desert island off Little Andaman, and from no other island in the Andamans or Nicobars. The only serious pest of coco-nuts in the Nicobars of which I am aware is the rat. The damage inflicted by monkeys is stated on page 110 to make them "unfit for sale". Actually monkeys twist off the young coco-nuts when only a couple of inches in diameter and render the deserted plantations of Great Nicobar entirely barren. Luckily monkeys are confined to that island and the island of Kachal.

The photographs are extremely good. Mr. Man was famous for his photography.

There is a brief index and three good maps, one of which, however, suffers from over reduction. The names need a magnifying glass.

919. M. L. FERRAR.

GUHYASAMĀJA TANTRA, OF TATHĀGATAGUHYAKA. Edited with introduction and index by BENOYTOSH BHATTACHARYYA. Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. LIII. 9½ × 6, pp. xl + 212. Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1931. Rs. 4.4.0.

The Guhyasamāja Tantra is one of the earliest Buddhist Tantras, dating probably from the third century (time of Asaṅga). Its importance lies in the introduction of the element of Śakti in all forms of Yoga practice. Its style is that of a Saṅgīti, a form of composition peculiar to Buddhist writers. In the earlier days these Saṅgītis begin with the description of an Assembly of the Faithful, where Buddha Bhagavān comes and sits in various *samādhis*, addressing the Assembly on various matters. This style prevails in Hīna- and Mahāyāna works. Later, in Yogatantra works, he is introduced as sporting in the sacred knowledge arising out of the body mind, and speech of the Tathāgatas. The Guhyasamāja is full of interesting features which illustrate the exorbitance to which a systematic pursuit of Yoga in its extreme degree has led. The G. definitely asks its followers to disregard all social laws which to a Yogi have the least importance. It was the introduction of Śaktis which has brought about this unorthodox (to say the least) development of Buddhism, and one may surmise that the spread of this kind of yaugic practice is to a large extent responsible for the disappearance of Buddhism from India.

The G. is full of its own praise. It asserts that its followers can attain enlightenment and Buddhahood in an instant (ch. 17), and no doubt it became very popular on this account.

In the last (eighteenth) chapter we come upon an explanation of technical terms as used in Tāntric practices, by which we gain a wonderful insight into the history and teaching of the Tantras which were meant only for initiates. The great interest taken in the Guhyasamāja from its first appearance is shown also by the large number of commentaries written on it, including one by Nāgārjuna (A.D. 645) and Śāntideva (A.D. 695).

For all students of Tantra and Yoga this work in Dr. Bhattacharyya's critical edition is invaluable, not only on account of its accurately emendated and beautifully-printed text (a feature which it shares with most volumes of the Gaekwad Oriental Series), but also on account of the illuminating and exhaustive introduction preceding the text.

731. W. Stede.

Persiens Mystiker Dschelál-eddin Rumi. Eine Stildeutung in drei Vorträgen. By Gustav Richter. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$, pp. 72. Breslau: Frankes Druckerei, 1933.

The poetry which is the subject of the three lectures comprised in this book represents the greatest combination of lyrical and didactic mysticism that Persian or any other literature has produced, and those best acquainted with it realize that from whatever side it may be approached it raises problems of peculiar complexity. Dr. Richter takes an æsthetic standpoint resembling that of Goethe in the *West-oestlicher Divan*. Beginning with a sketch of the poet's life and times, he lays down the principle—a very sound one—that understanding of his work and personality must be sought in comparative study of Persian literature and literary history, and particularly in careful analysis of his style, not only as a medium of self-expression but also as influenced by the religious and social *milieu* in which he lived. The technique, structure, and composition of his poetry, the subtle methods which he employs in order to develop and unify his theme,

and kindred matters are discussed and illustrated in a most interesting way by translations and analysis of several passages from the *Mathnawí* and the *Díwán-i Shams-i Tabríz*. It would be unfair to the critic to give a dry résumé of what he says on the "primary" and "secondary" styles and on the illogical but inwardly harmonious movement of an episode, starting from some fable, story, or tradition, through a series of analogies and reflections to a climax in which its apparent values are transformed and invested with eternal significance. All this may be more or less familiar to students of the *Mathnawí*, but the subject is now for the first time surveyed philosophically and handled with such a fine apprehension that no one concerned with the interpretation of Rúmí's poetry can afford to leave these pages unread. Dr. Richter concludes, and I agree with him, that attempts to construct a system of speculative mysticism from the *Mathnawí* and the *Díwán* by attaching fixed and precise connotations to terms which the poet uses for artistic purposes are doomed to failure.

845. R. A. Nicholson.

Kern Institute, Leyden: Annual Bibliography of Indian Archæology for the Year 1931. Published with the aid of the Government of Netherlands India, and with the support of the Imperial Government of India. 12¼ × 9¼, pp. xi + 210, figs. 4, pls. 12. Leyden: E. J. Brill, Ltd., 1933.

Scholars of all countries are well aware that in the great University of Leyden the *Sarvaśuklā Sarasvatī* has long had her fixed abode. Nearly every branch of human learning has there had illustrious representatives during several centuries, and Oriental studies—especially Arabic ones—have been kept highly flourishing in Holland and above all in Leyden since long time ago. The present writer, who is not wholly averse to a slight personal touch even in scientific

reviews, is easily reminded of the great seventeenth century when his own country, Sweden, and Holland, then two first-rank Protestant Powers, were often tied to each other by close relations of friendship. At that period some eminent Dutch scholars—mostly philologists—at the Court of Queen Christina, the gifted though eccentric daughter of the great Gustavus Adolphus, tried their best to spread the lights of science amongst the still semi-barbarous descendants of the Goths. And Sweden was by far not the one country that got much inspiration from the sagacity and learning of Dutch scholars.

Sanskrit studies, which are of a somewhat late date, have not had too many representatives in Holland; however, names like Kern, one of the most eminent of all Orientalists, Speyer, and Caland are household words with every Sanskrit scholar, and their works have been of great and lasting use to our Indian studies. Their traditions are nowadays most worthily upheld by Professor Vogel who, together with some of his colleagues, has now presented to the learned world the sixth volume of his most laudable undertaking, the *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archæology*, previous volumes of which have been duly noticed in this JOURNAL. The present volume, with its 982 entries and its set of magnificent plates, has been a very sumptuous undertaking, which was only made possible by two liberal donations recorded in the joint editors' preface. We may thus cherish the hope that Professor Vogel and his collaborators will be able to continue their magnificent and useful series, even if their path be at times strewn with some difficulties.

The introduction, as usual, contains a number of separate papers containing new and interesting information. First amongst these papers comes one by Dr. Fábri dealing with Sir Aurel Stein's location of the famous battle of the Hydaspes. This location, which has been foreshown by Mountstuart Elphinstone, and Cunningham, is most probably the correct one, though it must, of course, be admitted that

absolute certainty in a case like this is not to be reached. The statement that Alexander moved southwards need not to be taken in a literal sense and would not by itself preclude another solution; still we must admit that the degree of verisimilitude is here approaching to certainty. Thus the site of Aornos, the place of the passage of the Jhelum and the one of the Porus battle, seem all, thanks to the sagacity of Sir Aurel Stein, to have been fairly safely located.

In the second article Dr. Zieseniss, well-known through his researches on the Malay *Rāmāyaṇa*, deals with a Śaiva sculpture that in 1931 was unearthed within the village of Parel, near Bombay. This sculpture has already been described by Father H. Heras, S.J., and by Professor Krishnaswamy Aiyangar, whose interpretations of its figures seem to be slightly differing from each other. Without entering into too many details, it may be safely asserted that the sculpture is to be read from bottom to top and that the three central figures are meant to depict Śiva as Creator, Preserver, and Destroyer. Consequently the bottom figure that holds in one hand a rosary and in the other one a nondescript object is Śiva in the role of Brahmā, the Creator, one of whose attributes is quite naturally a *japamālā*. Whatever be the not very clearly defined attribute of the middle figure—personally I much doubt that it could well be a *kamaṇḍalu*—he must be Śiva the Preserver, as there is not the slightest doubt that the ten-armed figure at the top of the sculpture is meant to be the Destroyer of the Universe. Whether the interpretation of the four side-figures given by Dr. Zieseniss on p. 9 may well be doubted; unfortunately I am, however, unable to make any probable suggestion towards the solution of this riddle.

Following articles deal with Indian numismatics and with the progress of archæological research within the state of H.E.H. the Nizam. Professor Vogel himself writes about unidentified sculptures from Nāgārjunikoṇḍa and about the discovery, by M. Jouveau-Dubreuil and Messrs. K.

Venkatarangam and S. K. Govindaswami, of frescoes in South Indian temples. Of the plates from Nāgārjunikoṇḍa IIIa seems to depict Nāgas adoring some caskets which probably include Buddha relics, while IVa (and perhaps also b) contains a scene from the Nāga world, being apparently in a state of great stir, portending the visit of a Buddha. Unfortunately I am not sufficiently well read in Buddhist lore to be able to identify these scenes; however, I scarcely doubt that passages of Buddhist texts will be found which are apt to solve the riddle. As for Pl. IIIb there are certainly seen some persons pointing to an orb, on the surface of which appear the crescent together with certain stars. Eight of these celestial bodies undoubtedly form the well-known constellation of the Great Bear together with the Pole Star, and this at once reminds us of a certain detail of the nuptial ceremonies regulated by the Sūtras, viz. the pointing out of the *dhruva* to the newly-married couple. Still it, of course, remains highly doubtful whether this be really alluded to here.

The reports concerning archæological researches in Ceylon, Indo-China, and the Eastern Archipelago are full of interest, but cannot be discussed here. Dr. Kramer's classified list of Achæmenian inscriptions is a very useful work for which all scholars concerned with Indo-Iranian studies will feel deeply grateful to its author.

The bibliography as usual deserves only most unstinted praise. Of small misprints not corrected in the Addenda et Corrigenda we have observed one, on p. 118 (No. 405), where read *perdeu* (instead of *perden*).

We once more testify to our deep-felt gratitude towards Professor Vogel and his colleagues, and hope soon again to be endowed with another of their admirable volumes.

971. JARL CHARPENTIER.

AN EXAMINATION OF THE MYSTIC TENDENCIES IN ISLAM IN THE LIGHT OF THE QUR'AN AND TRADITIONS. By M. M. ZUHŪRU'D-DĪN AḤMAD, M.A. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$, pp. xiv + 248 + iv. Bombay: M. M. Z. Aḥmad, 1932.

The author is Professor of Logic and Philosophy at the Ismail College, Bombay, and formerly lecturer at Aligarh University. The aim of this interesting study, we are told, is to explain how Islamic mysticism originated and to sketch the history of its development. Professor Ahmad is not unacquainted with the earlier work of western Orientalists who have studied this aspect of Islam and he refers to Nicholson, Macdonald, Lehmann, Margoliouth, O'Leary, and Brown. His main authorities, however, are the Quran and Tradition, with occasional references to the Mathnawi of Jalal-ad-din ar-Rumi. Strange to say, he seems unacquainted with Professor John Clark Archer's study on *The Mystical Elements in Mohammed* (Yale University Press, 1924), which also finds the origin of mystical tendencies in the life of the Prophet and in the Quran itself.

No one doubts that there are occasional traits in Mohammed's character and a very few passages in his Book which lend themselves to the view that mysticism belongs to the essence of Islam. We read that the works of Western orientalists "are marred by their reliance on the works of unknown authors. Their inferences from such works give an impression to the readers that the Muslim Mystics had lived a life absolutely different from the life and tenets of the founder of Islam. Their writings seem to suggest that Muslim saints had chalked out for themselves a path of spiritual progress, which had very little in common with the path of the Prophet and his companions, and almost invariably aim at proving that this new path founded by these saints in some way made amends for the inherent defects of Islam as a theory of life. There is nothing farther from the truth than this suggestion of the Western scholars".

To prove this contention we have brief chapters on the

Early Beginnings of Sufism in Islam as illustrated in the practices of the Prophet, on Sufi tendencies in his Companions, on the relation between the *Tarīqah* and the *Sharī'ah*, on the Emergence of Present Sufi Doctrines, on the Theory of *tawḥīd* and its Relation to Spiritual Growth, with a final chapter on Saintship in Islam and its Decadence. The writer sums up his discussion on present-day Sufism by saying that: "The various reformatory movements started in the Islamic world have not yet proved of any great value. The pernicious practices introduced in the circle of their credulous votaries by the illiterate Sufis still persist and are considered to be the essence of Sufism, by some still more ignorant to be the essence of Islam. The time is ripe for reformation."

Except for an occasional evidence of the propaganda spirit (e.g. note on p. 153), and many unfortunate misprints to which attention is called in a list of corrigenda, the book is worthy of careful study and supplements western thought on the subject.

S. M. ZWEMER.

677.

THE CATUHŚATAKA OF ĀRYADEVA, SANSCRIT, AND TIBETAN TEXTS: With Copious Extracts from the Commentary of Candrakīrti. Reconstructed and Edited by V. BHATTACHARYA (Visva-Bharati Studies, No. 2). $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$, pp. xxiv + 308. Calcutta: Visva-Bharati Book Shop, 1931. Rs. 8.

SCHOOLS AND SECTS IN JAINA LITERATURE. Visva-Bharati Studies, No. 3. By A. SEN. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 7$, pp. viii + 48. Calcutta: Visva-Bharati Book Shop, 1931. Rs. 4.

Vidhuśekhara Bhattacharya is certainly the leader of those few Indian scholars who have realized the importance of Tibetan and Chinese as subsidiary studies to Sanskrit research and have undertaken original investigations of Buddhism according to the new lines of the comparative method.

The author has published a new translation of the *kārikās* of the *Catuhśataka* of Āryadeva, that is of one of the most important works of Māhāyāna. In fact it is directly inspired by the teaching of Nāgārjuna, though a careful study of the system of Āryadeva may lead to the conclusion that, in some particular points at least, he expounded the views of his master with a certain originality. As known, some fragments of this work of Āryadeva were discovered in Nepal and published together with a commentary by Haraprasāda Śāstrin. Then Vaidya prepared a new edition of the *kārikās*, together with the Tibetan translation and a restoration into Sanskrit of the lost portions. This very often missed the point, as I tried to show in a new translation from the Chinese.

Vidhuśekhara Bhattacharya has now made accessible the complete text, restoring into Sanskrit all the missing portions.

Sen's booklet contains a review and a short résumé of the ideas attributed, in the Jaina literature to the heretical sects, its chief sources being the Sūtrakṛtāṅga, the Bhāgavatī, and other Aṅgas of the Śvetāmbaras, together with their commentaries.

The author had, of course, some predecessors like Schrader, Barua, whom he cites frequently in connection with the Ājīvakas and as regards some other sects, e.g. the Lokāyatas, the Kālavādins, the Svabhāvavādins, and my studies on "Indian materialism".

But, though it cannot be said that the results of this research are quite new, it must be acknowledged that the exposition of the various views is clear: very useful is the list of the religious sects to be found in the Jaina literature and reproduced at p. 39.

627. 628. GIUSEPPE TUCCI.

SARACENIC HERALDRY: A SURVEY. By L. A. MAYER. 11¼ × 9, pp. xvi + 302, pls. 71. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1933. 84*s*.

The body of this book is a list of all those in Egypt and

Syria who are known to have had coats of arms, and whose coats are known, from the beginning of the custom of bearing arms till the Turkish conquest of Egypt. The blazon is described; there is a full bibliography of all objects bearing it; and whenever possible a short life of the man is given. Much labour has gone to the making of this record; manuscripts in many libraries and printed books have been ransacked to provide the history of everyone named in it, so that it can take its place worthily among the *Ṭabaḳát*.

In the introduction the problems raised by the list are discussed. The conclusions reached are these: some blazons denote office, some are *tamghas*, and others cannot be explained. Only soldiers bore arms and as their children were usually bred to civil professions there is very little evidence to show whether arms were hereditary or not. Dr. Meyer thinks that they were, though he does not believe in "canting coats". Blazons were at first simple and later became complicated; and in the later stage all the arm-bearing mamluks of a chief probably bore the same badge, perhaps differentiated by colour. The earliest known badge is that of Núr ud Dín b. Zangi (†A.H. 569, A.D. 1174). The connection with western heraldry is not discussed, but Núr ud Dín is only a few years earlier than A.D. 1189, the date of the earliest dated western coat. On p. 8 are diagrammatic forms of all known charges. It would have been convenient if these had been labelled, for one is called a gate and the reader is left to guess which is meant. No. 40 looks like a schoolboy's slate, and 46 like a tent-peg. One identification is hard to accept, the "trousers of nobility". If the West had its *manche* there is no reason why the East should not have had trousers. But the two parts of the badge are always separate (except perhaps in pl. 62, 9), not even "hitched together at the top". Pls. 61, 1, and 62, 4, are more like horns; 68, 1, the objects are perpendicular; 68, 7, the thick ends are downwards; 69, 2, the thick ends are outside; and in 64 (which the author does not discuss at all) the two are the same thickness all

through. They might be swords. Though these things do not seem to be horns, one fears that the traveller who saw a pair of trousers on the banner of Saladin's nephew had had his leg pulled. Some coins in the British Museum throw some light on the question whether arms were hereditary. One of Baraka Khán bears a lion, but it faces to the right, whereas that of his father Baibars faces to the left. Though coats of arms were well known and a poet could say when a change of governor took place, "the badge of striking has gone and the badge of swallowing has come," yet one has an uneasy feeling that engravers and masons were not particular about details so that no argument can be built on small differences. Copper coins of Muḥammad b. Ḳaláún have a rosette of six petals, while one has a wheel or a rosette of five sunk petals. This badge does not appear on gold or silver. Copper coins of his son Isma'il have a bird, possibly a duck, while others have a rosette. There is no apparent reason why one should be a blazon and the other not. On a copper coin of Muhammad's other son, Ḥájji, is a big fleur-de-lys and two silver coins have a small one in the middle of the inscription. Both unfortunately are badly worn. If the engravers are to be trusted, arms may have been hereditary, or hereditary with a difference, or not at all.

The plates are excellent, except 63, but there is nothing to show that many of the rosettes figured in them are heraldic.

The language of the inscriptions is peculiar, small objects being worse than buildings. Nearly every epithet is a *nisba*, even كبير becomes كبيري. This may be an extension of the usage whereby a mamluk took his master's name so that everyone belonging to an-Náṣir was called Náṣiri, and of the practice of reducing an honorific title like Saif ud Dín to a hypocoristicon Saifi. Yet this will hardly account for a form like الذخري "the precious" (?). Some of the translations violate fundamental rules of syntax. الدار الكريمة تقزتمر cannot mean "the noble house of Tuquztamur";

either the engraver was concerned with making fine letters or it must mean "the noble house, Tuquztamur" on the analogy of the Sublime Porte. The rendering on p. 215 is also impossible. If the words are right, and Arabic, they mean "the *amír dawádár*, the (chief) *dawádár*, the great one of the noble court". On p. 66 (2) السندى and on 96 الامراء are omitted in the translation. On 135 two words are in the wrong order, it must be بالابواب العالية. Probably the explanation lies in illiterate workmen.

There are a few mistakes. The reference p. 33 (3) on p. 91 should be 36 (3), on p. 143, note 2, should be *Durar* (Or. 3044), and there are one or two misprints.

It seems rash to attribute a coin to one sovereign on the strength of a fleur-de-lys and the title Manṣúr.

With amazing industry Dr. Mayer has given us a monumental book. If Ṭabari could read it he would cry: "The zeal for learning is not dead."

802. A. S. TRITTON.

THE LANKAVATARA SUTRA. A Mahayana Text. Translated by D. J. SUZUKI. 9 × 6, pp. l + 300, ills. 1, pls. 7. London: George Routledge, 1932. 16*s*.

Professor Suzuki's important lectures have already been reviewed in this JOURNAL and we are now offered a translation from the original Sanskrit, based on Bunyu Nanjo's version, of the Sutra itself. The translation is preceded by a useful introduction which "may also serve as one to Mahayana Buddhism generally". It treats, *inter alia*, of Mahayana ideas of the Buddha and the Bodhisattva, and under Psychology with the idea of the Ālaya in its relation to the vijñānas, manas, citta, etc., "the Twofold Egolessness," Epistemology, the three Svabhāvas, etc. It also deals with the specific message of the sutra and briefly with "the most important Mahayana texts that thus served to move the religious

feelings of the Far Eastern peoples and are still continuing to do so". Finally, the author discusses the date of the sutra, and the references to it in early Chinese records.

As the text of Ch'an or Zen Buddhism, this version will be welcomed by all students of Mahayana. Professor Suzuki has spent many years in unravelling the meaning of the "chaotic" text, his translation may not be accepted in detail by Sanskrit scholars, but in general he has supplied a reliable version. Founded on the doctrine of "Mind only", its intricate and involved arguments can only be followed by one who has much patience and insight, and we are indebted to the translator for his endeavour to interpret so difficult a sutra into our own language.

"Then Mahāmatī said: Teach me, Blessed One, concerning that most subtle doctrine which explains the Citta, Manas, Manovijñāna, the five Dharmas, the Svabhāvas, and the Lakshanas; which is put in practice by the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas; which is separated from the state of mind which recognizes a world as something outside Mind itself; and which, breaking down all the so-called truths established by words and reasonings, constitutes the essence of the teaching of all the Buddhas" (p. 39).

To any Western scholar who wishes to understand the fundamental text of Zen Buddhism this translation is essential.

656. W. E. SOOTHILL.

MATÉRIAUX POUR L'ÉTUDE DU SYSTÈME VIJÑAPTIMĀTRA. Par SYLVAIN LÉVI. Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études, fasc. 260. $9\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, pp. vi + 208. Front. Paris: Champion, 1932. Frs. 75.

Seven years have elapsed between Professor Lévi's edition of the Sanskrit text of the *Triṁśikā* and the *Viṁśatikā* of Vasubandhu, the former with a *vṛtti*, the latter with the *Bhāṣya* of Sthiramati, which he had the good fortune to discover in Nepal under the auspices of Hemrāj Śarman,

Rāj-Guru of that kingdom. He then promised at an early date a rendering of these texts, but the delay which has intervened has been unavoidable and has led to the collection of much additional information bearing on the Vijñaptimātra system. He has now given us renderings of the published texts and also of the notice on Ālayavijñāna from the *Fan yi ming yi tsi* (A.D. 1143), in which he had originally the collaboration of the late Édouard Chavannes, and he has prefixed (pp. 15–42) a résumé of the system, and an account of its history following the views of the late D. Shimaji of the Imperial University of Tokyo as adapted by Paul Demiéville. The work therefore forms an indispensable contribution to the study of a historically most important system, which already has had the good fortune to have been studied by Professor Louis de la Vallée Poussin in his translation of Hiuan Tsang's *Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi*. It has been possible to correct many imperfections in the printed texts (pp. 175–9), and a full index to the technical terms employed completes a work of much love and labour.

So far as it is practicable Professor Lévi's efforts enable us to follow at least the main lines of the thought of these treatises. What remains obscure must almost entirely be ascribed to the author himself. Vasubandhu as a philosopher must always remain strange to occidental minds. He starts with presuppositions which he never examines ; the doctrine of transmigration, the chain of causation are binding on him ; the whole of his great scheme rests on *a priori* constructions incapable of verification by our mental processes and therefore essentially unreal to us. It evades criticism, and it is easy to understand how very different are the interpretations put upon it in the history of the school. It would be rash, and, within the limits of space here available, quite useless to question details of Professor Lévi's interpretation, and we need only congratulate ourselves and Vasubandhu that he has found so admirable an interpreter.

968. A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.

THE KALPADRUKOŚA OF KEŚAVA. Vol. I. Edited with critical introduction by RĀMĀVATĀRA ŚARMĀ. Vol. II. Index compiled by SHRIKANTA SHARMA. Gaekwad's Oriental Series, XLII and LX. 9½ × 6¼. Vol. I, pp. lxii + 2 + 485; Vol. II, pp. vi + 283. Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1928 and 1932. Rs. 4 each.

ŚABDARATNASAMANVAYAKOŚA of King Sāhajī of Tanjore. Critically edited with introduction and index by VITTHALRAM LALLURAM SHASTRI. Gaekwad's Oriental Series, LIX. 9½ × 6, pp. xxxi + 607. Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1932. Rs. 11.

The Baroda Oriental Institute carries on actively its excellent task of publishing hitherto unedited works, and, among some really important and much interesting material, includes a certain number of texts, which are of no great value to the majority of Sanskritists. Of the two dictionaries named above, the first dates from 1660 and is arranged by synonyms, of which according to the editor it has the largest collection made by any Indian lexicographer. The introduction, which summarizes our knowledge of this class of literature, unfortunately makes no attempt to estimate the value of Keśava's production or to investigate the manner in which he has used his sources. So far as I can see, it is an industrious compilation, exploiting his predecessors with care, but devoid of originality and adding little or nothing to our knowledge. The editing is good and the index complete and accurate.

The other lexicon, which is a little later in date, is arranged on the opposite principle of giving the various meanings of each word and was presumably of use to court poets striving after the more recondite effects of the later *kāvya*. Otherwise it seems to be of little importance except for the interest attaching to its origin. There are occasional mistakes in the index, but the scheme of the work makes it easy to find words, even when a wrong reference is given.

869, 868. E. H. JOHNSTON.

THE PERSIAN RIVAYATS OF HORMAZYAR FRAMARZ AND OTHERS. Their version with Introduction and Notes. By ERVAD BAMANJI NUSSERWANJI DHABAR. 10¼ × 7¼, pp. lxviii + 658. Bombay: The K.R. Cama Oriental Institute, 1932.

This bulky volume contains an enormous amount of matter, but it has been put together in a deplorably clumsy and awkward manner and it is arranged and indexed in such a way that it is difficult to trace any information with regard to any specific point. The book purports to give primarily translations of portions of the Persian Rivayats, eight letters received from Persia at different times, containing guidance for Indian Zoroastrians on points connected with their religion from Persian Zoroastrians, but there is also a great deal of other matter, chiefly in the form of extracts from later letters of a similar character. All these letters have been mixed up in such a confusing way and they are so overlaid with endless and voluminous notes on points, relevant and irrelevant, that it is difficult to see the wood for the trees. The matters dealt with are very largely a repetition *ad nauseam* of discussions about various kinds of ceremonial impurity arising from childbirth, menstruation, and other defilements, and the constant prescribing of bull's urine as a means of purification. This fluid, either directly or under the Persian names of *gomez* and *pādyāb*, is mentioned many hundreds of times.

From the point of view of linguistic scholarship there is very little of interest in the book apart from a list (pp. 630–6) of technical words used in the Rivayats, many of which are not to be found in ordinary Persian lexicons. It would seem that the author would have rendered much better service to scholarship if he had given the Persian texts of the Rivayats in full with a translation and cut down the explanatory notes to a minimum. His English style is very strange in places. He writes in the introduction about the Rivayat throwing a "glaring" light on most points of

mediæval Parsi history, and in a footnote (p. 359) of the omnipresent *gomez* "being drunk by the candidate with his naked body".

884. R. P. DEWHURST.

THE SEALAND OF ANCIENT ARABIA. By RAYMOND PHILIP DOUGHERTY. Yale Oriental Series: Researches, vol. xix. 9¼ × 7, pp. xii + 204. New Haven: Yale University Press; London: Oxford University Press, 1932, 18*s*.

This comparatively small book is priced in England at 18*s*., and is certain to have a very small sale. It contains little or no matter of any originality, and it is only likely to interest a few specialists in a very limited field. The conclusions arrived at, when divested of a cloud of words, really amount to very little. The author in his short preface explains that he has used the term "Sealand" instead of "Sea-land" because of evidence that the designation was looked upon as geographical rather than as merely descriptive, but this distinction seems to be purely fanciful. His conclusion with regard to the numerous passages in the cuneiform texts cited, which refer to the so-called Sealand and the peninsula of Arabia, is given at p. 121, where he says that "the view that they overlapped is the most plausible explanation", though he proceeds to admit that "the degree of overlapping cannot be gained from data now at our disposal".

The extreme vagueness of the evidence may be inferred from the author's own words. He says (p. 156): "It must be admitted that these indices constitute in the main what all will recognize as indirect proof. Direct demonstration would result if a cuneiform geographical document giving the boundaries of the Sealand were available. Knowledge of a more factual [*sic*] character might also be in our possession if numerous texts of Sealand origin had been discovered and deciphered. As it is, dependence must be placed upon indirect

information of the type which has been presented. In other fields of investigation such evidence is considered very valuable. The most may be made of it in the absence of more specific data." The last sentence seems extraordinarily naïve, being tantamount to saying that in the absence of good evidence the value of weak evidence may justifiably be exaggerated.

A suggestion that the so-called Sealanders influenced the development of Hebrew monotheism is advanced in a very tentative way and is based on the most slender evidence. This is made clear by the last paragraph of the book (p. 191). There is a strange misprint on p. 160, where the " Rub'-al-Khali " is referred to as the " Rub' at Khali ".

The binding, paper, and typography of this volume are of excellent quality, but it cannot be said that the contents are of a practical or stimulating nature. There are no maps, a rather surprising omission.

817. R. P. DEWHURST.

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1. ASSAM BURANJI, or a History of Assam. pp. xxii + 152, 1930.
2. KAMRUPAR BURANJI, or an Account of Ancient Kamarupa. By HARAKANTA SARMA BARUA, Sadr Amin. pp. xviii + 152. 1930. Rs. 2.8.
3. TUNGKHUNGIA BURANJI, or a Chronicle of the Tungkhungia Kings of Assam. pp. xlviii + 188, 1932. Rs. 2.8.
4. ASAMAR PADYA-BURANJI, or a Metrical Chronicle of Assam. pp. lvi + 308. 1932. Rs. 3.
5. DEODHAI ASAM BURANJI, with several shorter Chronicles of Assam. pp. lxx + 222. 1932. Rs. 3.

All edited by S. K. BHUYAN. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$. Assam: Department of Historical and Antiquarian Studies.

The Āhōms, who entered Assam early in the thirteenth century, possessed an historic sense rarely found in India. From the commencement of their rule a continuous record

of important events was maintained by their Deodhâis, or tribal priests, in the Āhōm script and language. Later on, when the Āhōms came under the influence of Hinduism, similar records were made by Hindu writers in the Assamese language.

About forty years ago a search was made for such records as part of the scheme for historical research in Assam, which was drawn up by the writer of this review at the request of the late Sir Charles Lyall. As a result, six *burañjis*, or historical manuscripts, in the Āhōm tongue were found and translated into English; and these with eleven others in Assamese formed the most important part of the material used for a detailed history of Assam. The original records, however, remained unprinted.

In 1928, with a view to promote further research, the Government of Assam established a Department of Historical and Antiquarian Studies; and the five volumes enumerated above are some of the first-fruits of the activities of the new Department. In them are published a number of works in the Assamese language by various authors. These works have all been edited by Professor S. K. Bhuyan, who has written in English a critical introduction to each volume, with biographical notes regarding the authors and a brief indication of the nature of the contents. (In the case of No. 4 he has given a full synopsis at the end.)

No. 1 is an elaboration of the Chronicle of Kāsīnāth Tāmuli Phukan, which was published in Sibsagar in A.D. 1844. The author claims descent from an astrologer who came from Kānauj in the latter part of the sixteenth century and was one of the first Hindus to obtain a high position at the Āhōm Court.

No. 2 is a compilation from several manuscripts. The most important is one that had already been published at Sibsagar in 1853 by the American Baptist Mission. It contains an account of the Muhammadan invasions during the seventeenth century.

No. 3 is attributed to Srināth Bar Baruā, but it appears from the first sentence of the record that that personage "caused it to be written", so presumably he was not himself the author. It purports to be a history of the Tungkhungiā dynasty, but very little is said of the first four kings of that line; the editor has therefore prefixed a fuller narrative from two other *buranjis*. This work provides a good deal of valuable information for the years A.D. 1751 to 1806.

No. 4 contains two metrical chronicles: (*a*) Kāli Bharat Buranji, by Dutirām Hājarikā, covering the period from the accession of Larā Rājā in 1679 up to the mutiny; its account of the Burmese invasion and the establishment of British rule is of considerable value: and (*b*) Belimarār Buranji, by Viśveśvar Vaidyādhipa, which commences with Welsh's expedition in 1792 and ends with the second Burmese invasion. The latter was written at the instance of the last Āhōm king and the former at that of his son.

No. 5 contains a number of old writings. The most important is that which gives its name to the volume. Unlike the other writings in this series it is not an original Assamese work, but a revision of a translation from an old *buranji* in the Āhōm tongue, which was made for the American Baptist Mission, and published in Sibsagar in its local periodical in A.D. 1850–2. Another important *buranji* in the same volume was inspired by the Būṛhā Gohāiñ who held office in the troubled years following Mir Jumla's invasion.

It has been impossible in this brief review to go into details, but it is hoped that enough has been said to demonstrate the very useful work which is being done by the Department of Historical and Antiquarian Studies in Assam, and to induce those who are interested in the history of Assam to study the volumes for themselves. They reflect great credit on Professor Bhuyan, who appears to be the life and soul of the Department.

959, 960, 961, 962, 963. E. A. GAIT.

BIOGRAPHICAL INDEX OF BUDDHIST SCRIPTURES. By the "HŌSHI" TAI TA-TAI of the Jion-ji Temple. $9\frac{1}{4} \times 7$. Kyoto: Academy of Oriental Culture, Kyoto Institute.

We have received from the Academy of Oriental Culture, Kyoto Institute, a critical edition of the well-known *Life of Hsiuen Tsang*, entitled 大唐大慈恩寺三藏法師傳. The editors, Professor Haneda and Mr. Utsunomiya, point out that the various texts hitherto published are very far from perfect, and in preparing this new edition with various readings taken from different old texts they have taken as the basis of this text a Korean manuscript of the eleventh century. In addition to the text and variants the editors have published a learned introduction and an index of proper names. This work ought to prove invaluable to future students of the fascinating life of the famous Buddhist pilgrim.

909. E. DENISON ROSS.

SOME TURKISH TRANSCRIPTIONS IN THE LIGHT OF IRREGULAR ASPIRATES IN MANDARIN. By BERNHARD KARLGREN. Pamphlet. Reprint from the Ts'ai Yüan P'ei Anniversary Volume (Supplementary Vol. I of the Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology of the Academia Sinica). $10\frac{1}{4} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$, pp. 12. Peiping, 1933.

In this important little extract Professor Karlgren sets out to prove that the transcription of Turkish names beginning with a T, such as Tegin, Tardu, and Tarkan, do not, as has hitherto been supposed, indicate that the Chinese of the sixth and seventh centuries heard and transcribed the initial T of Central Asia by D, but that the characters employed really go back to an ancient alternative reading of T- for D, and that the Chinese 特勤 is a perfect transcription of Tegin.

A. 57. E. DENISON ROSS.

GÎTA-GÔWINDA: PASTORALE VAN DJAJADÊWA. In Nederlandsche verzen overgebracht door Dr. B. FADDEGON. 8 × 5, pp. 192, pls. 5 (including a coloured frontispiece). Santpoort: Uitgeverij C. A. Mees, 1932. Frs. 2.90 and 3.90.

This Dutch translation of a Sanskrit poem is preceded by an Introduction of about 30 pages and followed by 15 pages of notes and a brief bibliography. The translation, which is in verse, reads well. Being no Sanskritist, I have not been able to collate it with the original, but a comparison with Sir Edwin Arnold's version (in *Indian Poetry*, Trübner & Co., 1886) indicates that the Dutch translation is a closer rendering than this English one. The Introduction discusses the poem from various points of view and also deals with the life and legend of its author.

712. C. O. BLAGDEN.

MÉLANGES DE PHILOLOGIE ORIENTALE. (See *JRAS.*, 1934, p. 157.) 10 × 6½, xvi + 230 pp., ills. 8. Liége, Institut Supérieur d'Histoire et de Littératures orientales de l'Université; Louvain: Imprimerie Orientaliste Marcel Istas, s.a., 228, rue de Bruxelles.

The thanks of the Society are also due for the following volumes :—

CANONS OF ORISSAN ARCHITECTURE. By NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE. Calcutta: R. Chatterjee, 1932.

EINFÜHRUNG INS URARTÄISCHE GRAMMATISCHER ABRISS UND AUSGEWÄHLTE TEXTE MIT SPRACHLICHEN ERLÄUTERUNGEN. By JOHANNES FRIEDRICH. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrich, 1933.

NATIVE EDUCATION. CEYLON, JAVA, FORMOSA, PHILIPPINES, FRENCH INDO-CHINA, AND BRITISH MALAYA. By Hon. H. A. WYNDHAM. London: Oxford University Press, 1932.

HARUN AL RASCHID. By H. S. J. PHILBY. London: Peter Davis, 1933.

YOSHINO: ANTHOLOGY OF JAPANESE POETRY. *Rhymes Japonais: L'Expression Poétique dans le Folk-Lore Japonais: La Forêt des Symboles.* Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1933.

SANKṢIPTA JAINA ITIHĀSA (A Brief Jaina History). Vol. ii, pt. 1. By KĀMATĀ PRASĀDAJĪ JAINA. Surat: Digambara-jaina, 1933.

OUTRAM'S RIFLES: A HISTORY OF THE 4TH BATTALION 6TH RAJPUTANA RIFLES. By H. G. RAWLINSON. London: Oxford University Press, 1933.

LEGENDS OF OUR LADY MARY. The Perpetual Virgin and her Mother Hanna. By Sir E. A. WALLIS BUDGE. London: Humphrey Milford, 1933.

ONE HUNDRED AND TEN MIRACLES OF OUR LADY MARY. By Sir E. A. WALLIS BUDGE. London: Humphrey Milford, 1933.

SRI GOURANGA—THE MAN. By SWAMI D. C. BHARATI. Calcutta: M. L. Dey and Co., 1933.

THE TEACHINGS OF SRI GOURANGA. By SWAMI D. C. BHARATI. Calcutta: M. L. Dey and Co., 1933.

THE CONTINENT OF ASIA. By L. W. LYDE. London: Macmillan and Co., 1933.

THE PRIVATE LETTER BOOK OF JOSEPH COLLET. By H. H. DODWELL: Appendix by C. E. Collet. London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1933.

LA BIBLE ET L'INDE: CLARTÉS CONVERGENTES. By ALEX. EMMANUEL. Paris: G. R. Maisonneuve, 1933.

TRANSACTIONS OF THE ORIENTAL SOCIETY, 1931–32.

THREE ARABIC TREATISES ON ALCHEMY. By MUḤAMMAD BIN UMAIL (10th century A.D.). Excursus on the Writings and Date. By H. E. STAPLETON and M. HIDĀYAT ḤUSAIN. Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol. xii, No. 1.

DIE LANGGEDICHTE YAKAMOCHI'S AUS DEM MANYŌSHŪ. By E. E. FLORENZ. Hamburgische Universität, Nr. 4.

OBITUARY NOTICES

Hosea Ballou Morse

Hosea Ballou Morse was a Canadian by birth, having been born at Brookfield, Nova Scotia, on 18th July, 1855. He was the eldest son of Albert David Morse and Mercy Dexter (Park) and came of a family which traced its descent from Massachusetts ancestry of the 1635 flight. But his grandfather's grandfather in 1776 was a loyalist, who, when George Washington entered Boston, thought it better to accompany Sir William Howe to Halifax where he obtained a commission in the Royal Legion.

Nearly a century later the family returned to Massachusetts, Albert David Morse settling in Medford in 1865, when Hosea was 10 years old. The father became naturalized as a citizen of the United States, and the son became an American with him. In 1866 Hosea Morse entered the Boston Latin School, taking the short course, and on graduation in June, 1870, obtained the Franklin medal. The brilliant intellectual equipment which so marked the whole of his life was already showing itself. Though only 16 he proceeded to Harvard, and devoted himself mainly to classics, for which he had a great liking and aptitude, and in which he took a First Class (summos honores) on graduation.

Immediately after graduation in 1874, at the age of 19, he received an appointment in the Chinese Maritime Customs Service, on the recommendation, it is believed, of Mr. Edward B. Drew, a New Englander, who, though still quite a young man, had already achieved a distinguished position as a Commissioner of Customs in that Service, and was one of that brilliant group of young men of various nationalities who gave Mr. (as he then was) Robert Hart such effective co-operation in the building up of his Service.

Three other young Harvard graduates went to China

with Morse—H. F. Merrill, W. F. Spinney, and C. C. Clarke—of whom Mr. Merrill alone survives; and of the many batches of men from various countries who elected to serve China under Hart, this was surely one of the most remarkable. They were all men of sterling character and good ability; all four served their full time in China and did valuable work in important positions; while one of them, the subject of our memoir, accomplished, outside his official activities, a vast statistical and historical work which places him in the first rank among writers upon China.

Robert Hart soon saw that this young recruit was of uncommon calibre, and Morse had not been long in the Service before he found himself selected for some of the special missions and appointments which the Inspector-General held in his gift. His first three years were passed in Shanghai, where he laid the foundations of his knowledge of Chinese. In 1877 he was transferred to Tientsin and while there was sent into the interior of the province on famine relief work, to distribute money and food in the district affected by the great famine of 1876–7. In 1878 he was appointed to the Inspectorate-General at Peking, whence he passed on to the London office of the Chinese Customs in 1879, where he remained for three years. The office was then under the charge of Mr. J. D. Campbell, C.M.G., and its chief occupation at that time was the responsible task of supervising the construction of the ships built in England for the Chinese Navy which was being formed by Li Hung-Chang.

It was while he was in London that Morse married Annie Josephine Welsford, daughter of Joseph Welsford, ship-owner, of Liverpool and New York, a devoted helpmate who not only accompanied him to all the dangerous places of his career, but whose unceasing care of his health made possible the accomplishment of his vast labours.

In 1883 Morse was back in China again and once more appointed to Tientsin. The Commissioner there was a German, Gustav Detring, one of the great figures of the

China of his time, and the trusted adviser of the Viceroy Li Hung-chang who was the virtual ruler of the Chinese Empire under the Empress Dowager. Morse became Detring's right-hand man, and in July, 1885, was sent on a special mission to Tongking to supervise the exchange of prisoners on the conclusion of peace with France after the Franco-Chinese war, one of China's troubles from which, thanks to Hart's diplomacy, she emerged comparatively unscathed. For this service Morse received the Chinese Order of the Double Dragon.

In the same year he was seconded from the Customs Service to assist in the organization and management of the China Merchants Steam Navigation Company, one of Li Hung-chang's enterprises, an officially subsidized shipping company, established with the object of competing with the foreign-owned steamer lines on the Chinese coast.

In 1887 Morse returned to Customs duty as Deputy Commissioner charged with the organization of the bonding system at Shanghai. The next year he was appointed Assistant Statistical Secretary at Shanghai; in 1889 Acting Commissioner at Pakhoi, and in 1892, after two years leave, Acting Commissioner at Tamsui, Formosa. Then came the Chino-Japanese war; Formosa fell to Japan as part of the spoils of war, and the Chinese Customs staff was withdrawn. An interesting account of his experiences during this crisis was given by Morse in his article "A Short-lived Republic" which appeared in the *New China Review* in 1919, and which shows, incidentally, the nerve and resource displayed by him at a moment when all foreigners in Formosa stood in grave peril between the contending forces.

His next appointment was Deputy Commissioner in the Shanghai Customs, and in 1896 he was promoted to full Commissioner's rank and sent to Lungchow on the Tongking frontier, perhaps as remote and forlorn a spot as could be found among China's list of frontier posts. From here he went as Commissioner to Pakhoi, only a degree better, whence

he proceeded in 1899 to Hankow with the special mission of opening up the province of Hunan to foreign trade.

This long spell of unceasing work and exposure to some of the worst climates in the Far East told upon a constitution never robust, and from 1900 to 1902 he was away from China on leave with his health seriously shattered. He recovered sufficiently to return and be Commissioner in Canton in 1903 and in 1904 was sent to Shanghai as Statistical Secretary.

In that department of the Inspectorate-General where the trade statistics of China are laboriously collated and published in great volumes full of valuable information little regarded even in China and hardly known at all outside of it, Morse found his appropriate place. Here was got together all that was to be known of the trade, with much matter bearing on the political and economic condition of the Chinese people and their commercial dealings with foreign countries. The study of these vast subjects offered a field entirely congenial to Morse's genius, and shaken in health as he was, he threw himself into the work with his accustomed ardour. During the four years in which he had charge of the department he not only reformed the whole system of the arrangement and presentation of the statistics of trade, but began a whole series of special studies which resulted ultimately in the production of those great books which form almost an encyclopædia upon Chinese trade and government.

These enormous labours might well have broken a strong man, and with his frail physique and constant ill-health it is amazing that they were accomplished. In 1908, quite broken down, he went on leave. By Imperial Decree in 1909 he was given Civil rank of the Second Class (red button), and on the expiration of his leave in that year he retired and settled in England, only to be driven to Switzerland and Germany in search of the relief which the doctors here were unable to give him. In 1910 he was given up, but in spite of this verdict of his physicians he gradually recovered; not only

recovered, indeed, but lived for another twenty-four years to do much more important work.

In 1913 he returned to England and settled at Camberley, where he remained until his death. In 1917, profoundly affected by the war, he took out British naturalization papers and resumed the British status in which he had been born. In September, 1920, he went to Brussels as expert adviser to the Chinese delegation at the Financial and Economic Conference, and in 1922 received by Presidential Mandate the Order of the Chia Ho, Second Class.

His most important works are :—

1908 (3rd edition 1921). *The Trade and Administration of China* (dedicated to his three Harvard colleagues).

1909. *The Gilds of China.*

1910. *International Relations of the Chinese Empire*, vol. i.

1918. *International Relations of the Chinese Empire*, vols. ii and iii.

1926–9. *Chronicles of the East India Company in China, 1635–1834*, 5 vols.

1927. *In the Days of the Taipings* (an historical retrospect given by him to the Essex Institute, Salem, Mass., U.S.A.).

Morse also wrote many articles in magazines and papers, and some pamphlets, the most notable being "A Short-lived Republic" (already referred to); "Currency in China" (in the *Journal* of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society); "Extraterritoriality in China" (*Journal* of Central Asian Society, 1923); "Concessions and Settlements in China" (*Nineteenth Century & After*, July, 1928). In June, 1913, he delivered an address before the Western Reserve University on "The Repayment by the West of its debt to the East". This brilliant paper reveals him at his best—in the depth and scope of his knowledge and his power of literary expression.

At one time and another he served in various extra-official

capacities of which two are worthy of note. He was several times Secretary, and from 1904–7 he was Vice-President of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. Just before his final departure from Shanghai he was President of the American Association of China. After his retirement he took an active part as a member of the Council of the Royal Asiatic Society in London, and was also on the committee of the China Association.

He had many Chinese honours. He was given the degree of Doctor of Laws by the Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio, in 1913; and in 1924 his own university, Harvard, conferred on him the same honour.

At the end of 1933 his health failed rapidly and he died of heart exhaustion on 13th February, 1934. A man of kindly disposition and winning personality, he left behind him many who held him in great affection. Modest and retiring he did nothing to advertise his achievements. But his remarkable series of works, the triumph of character, genius, and industry over difficulties, will live and speak for him; and we may well believe that Canada, the country of his birth, together with America, China, and England, the countries of his adoption, will all hold his memory in honour.

6. C. A. V. Bowra.

Guy le Strange

Born at Hunstanton in 1854, Guy le Strange was one of our most distinguished members, and also one of the oldest, his connexion with the Society having been unbroken since 1880, when he was elected during the second presidency of Sir Henry Rawlinson, till his death last year, on 24th December, at Cambridge. Between 1880 and 1912, he contributed to the *Journal* many valuable articles, chiefly on Muslim geography, and his Description of the province of Fárs, translated from the *Fársnáma* of Ibn al-Balkhí, was published in 1912, in the Asiatic Society Series of Monographs.

Le Strange passed a good deal of his life abroad, first at Paris, where he lived for a time with his mother after leaving school, and then at Florence. In Paris he came under the influence of Julius Mohl, well-known as editor and translator of the *Sháhnáma*, who inspired him with enthusiasm for Persia and Persian literature; and attended the lectures of Stanislas Guyard on Arabic. His initiation in Orientalism was followed by a visit to Persia. He spent three years (1877–80) in making himself familiar with the country and its people, and mastering the language. The immediate result was an inviting little book, in which W. H. D. Haggard collaborated—the text, with translation, vocabulary, and notes, of a modern Persian play, the *Vazír of Lankurán*. As always, he writes with natural ease and force, and the notes are not without characteristic touches of racy humour, e.g. on the word *farrásh*: "there is no name in English for a servant who is at the same time 'housemaid' and 'executioner'." After this excursion into the lighter side of Persian life, Le Strange settled down to work on his favourite subject. To his original and eminently practical mind it soon became clear that "if Moslem history is ever to be made interesting, and indeed to be rightly understood, the historical geography of the nearer East during the Middle Ages must be thoroughly worked out". The extent, value, and interest of his contribution to a complete survey of the immense field earned for him a European reputation, and are so evident that his own estimate of it as "a first attempt" must appear excessively modest.

Large gaps, of course, remain for future research, and the author does not profess to give full details of all the ground he has covered; but within these limits no one taking a broad view of his work can fail to admire either the solidity of its learning or the sagacity of its conclusions or the literary skill shown in its composition. Only three books indispensable to students of Islam need be mentioned here: *Palestine under the Moslems* (1890), *Baghdad during the*

Abbasid Caliphate (1900), and *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate* (1905).

Le Strange had long been troubled with weak sight, and from 1912 forward he was on the verge of total blindness. Nevertheless, he continued to read and write under difficulties which most men would have found insuperable. His Cambridge friends could be pretty sure of meeting him any morning in the University Library and being entertained with some pungent sally or lively conversation. He busied himself with Spanish and published translations from that language—González de Clavijo's *Embassy to Tamerlane* and the *Relaciones* of Don Juan of Persia; also a selection of ballads. With his old friend and colleague, E. G. Browne, who was the main cause of his settling in Cambridge, he took an active part in the affairs of the Gibb Memorial Trust, and its publications include several volumes edited by him. If, in editing and translating, he sometimes paid more attention to matter than to form and committed faults which an exact philologist might have escaped, these were only the small defects of great qualities. All who knew him will endorse the tribute in *The Times* obituary notice from one of those who knew him best: "He was the kindest and most generous of men; he loved young folk as well as his peers, and he was never without a gratuitous pupil, old or young, in Persian, Arabic, or Spanish." It may be added that when his sight failed, he offered many rare books in his library to friends, at absurdly low prices fixed by himself. The present writer acquired a sumptuously bound copy of Turner-Macan's *Sháhnáma*, which bears the inscription, "G. le Strange. Jan. 1875. Paris." That date marks the beginning of sixty years' work carried on with tireless energy and indomitable courage.

2. R. A. NICHOLSON.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER

Sir Anthony Sherley

On 12th October, 1933, Sir Denison Ross, Director of the School of Oriental Studies of the University of London, gave a lecture at the rooms of the Society on " Sir Anthony Sherley and his Persian Adventure ".

It was at Wiston, in Sussex, that the three Sherley brothers, Thomas, Anthony, and Robert, were born and grew up. They were the sons of old Sir Thomas Sherley, who spent most of his life in trouble and some of it in jail. I am mainly concerned with the second son, Anthony, who was born in 1565, and who had many adventures in the low countries before his journey to Persia.

It was, in the first instance, a matter of pure accident. Anthony had been sent by the Earl of Essex, who was his cousin by marriage, to help Don Cesare d'Este, of Ferrara, against the Pope, who laid claim to the Principality. He travelled overland with a party of men and Robert, but on reaching Venice they learned that the Duke had submitted to the Pope and that consequently their services would not be required. Anthony thereupon reported to the Earl of Essex what had happened, but the latter was not willing that he should come back to England " and turn such voice as was raised at his going to nothing, and proposed to him (after a small relation which Anthony made to him from Venice) to voyage to Persia, grounding it up on two points: first, to endeavour to prevail upon the King of Persia to unite with the Christian Princes against the Turks; second to establish a commercial intercourse between England and the East ". One object was, as it were, pious, and the other mercenary. Anthony's interest in Persia had no doubt been aroused by intercourse with Persians he met in Venice.

Before following the party to Persia I would like to explain as briefly as possible the political situation in that country.

The rise of the Safavi dynasty had led to the revival of the glories of Persia, such as she had not known since pre-Islamic days, and, under the Great Shāh Ismā'īl, she again became a nation and her borders became co-extensive with those of the great Sasanians. Towards the end of the sixteenth century, however, the Turks began to invade Northern Persia and by the time Shāh 'Abbās came to the throne in 1587 she had been deprived of most of Armenia and Georgia and of many important towns like Ardebil and Tabriz. It was, no doubt, the urgent desire of Shāh 'Abbās, on his accession to the throne, to recover this lost territory, but, as Persia had just emerged from a period of anarchy, he had felt he could not yet cope with the Turks, whilst the Turks on their side were very anxious to make peace because, at this juncture, the Emperor Rudolph II was attacking them in Hungary, and the Turks were never able to wage war successfully in both quarters at once. In 1590, therefore, peace had been concluded with the Turks, by which each side retained what it held, that is to say, the Turks held a good deal of what was naturally Persian territory.

From 1590 to 1598 'Abbās, relieved from the pressure of the Ottomans, devoted his attention to the consolidation of what remained of his kingdom, and to warding off the invasions of the Uzbegs into Khurasan. Not until April, 1598, was he able to crush his elusive enemy. It was on his return from this victorious campaign in December, 1598, that he met in Qazvīn Anthony and Robert Sherley, whom we left in Venice. The Sherleys and their party had travelled by sea to Antioch, by way of Aleppo down the Euphrates to Baghdad, and from Baghdad into Persia via Qaṣr-i-Shīrīn and Kirmānshāh.

George Manwaring, one of the party, makes an interesting allusion to coffee, which was then unknown in England. He says: "they have a certain kind of drink which they call coffee, it is made of an Italian seed: they drink it extreme hot; it is nothing toothsome, nor hath any good smell, but is very wholesome."

On the night following the Shāh's arrival the Sherleys were invited by His Majesty to a banquet. Shāh 'Abbās was evidently much pleased with his new visitors on purely personal grounds; for they had no credentials of any kind. We are told incidentally that the party included a cannon founder, and that Anthony showed the Shāh a book on Fortification in which he was much interested. We are also told that the Sherleys gave great impetus to warlike affairs in Persia and instructed the Persians in the use of artillery and of infantry. The statement is interesting but I have not been able to trace any genuine account of their having introduced artillery. Pietro della Valle, in a letter from Persia dated May, 1619, tells us that there were four divisions of soldiery in Persia: "the Fuzileers, the King's slaves, the Kizilbashis, and the Curchis. The Fuzileers are a modern institution at the recommendation of Sir Anthony Sherley, an Englishman." During the stay of the party in Qazvīn Anthony had been created a Mīrzā of the Persian kingdom, and Shāh 'Abbās always spoke to him as Mīrzā Antonio.

They accompanied the Shāh to Ispahān, which they reached in January, 1599. Here the Shāh talked with Anthony almost daily, and a very full account is given by Anthony himself of the arguments he employed in persuading 'Abbās to send an embassy to the Christian princes, of the willing ear 'Abbās lent to his words, and of the viziers who agreed with him, and of those who were bitterly opposed. This commission Anthony, no doubt, designed for himself, but he made no allusion to the fact. The unfriendly viziers, however, saw through this scheme, and said that the proposal was the artful device of a needy adventurer—a charge which was extraordinarily near the truth.

The account written by Anthony himself of his stay in Persia and known as his *Relation* was published in 1613, and has never since been republished, although it was summarized by Purchas. According to this account Anthony derived all his historical information from Shāh 'Abbās

himself, and though it is quite likely that a man so deeply interested in politics as Anthony undoubtedly was would have sought information on all hands, we may presume that his historical matter was derived in the main from the Grand Sophi himself, and that it represents the history of the period as the chief protagonist felt it should be told. In many cases his names and facts are in great disorder.

After much discussion the Shāh finally arranged to send Sherley in the Embassy to Christendom.

As soon as this had been decided, a feast was held in a great garden of more than two miles' compass, which lasted thirty days continuously. It was during this feast that the Augustinian Friar Nicholas, who was returning from India to Rome, begged to be one of the party proceeding overland to Europe. Time will not permit me to tell the story of the disagreements which arose between this Portuguese friar and Anthony. Anthony himself suggested that he should be accompanied by a Persian colleague with almost equal status to himself, and an officer of the Shāh's bodyguard named Ḥusayn 'Alī Beg was chosen, who turned out to be a second thorn in the flesh to Anthony on his mission.

The party left Ispahān at the end of April, 1599, Robert Sherley being left behind as a hostage. I can only give a brief outline of Anthony's subsequent adventures, the full account is given in my book.[1] They travelled by Russia in order to avoid passing through the Ottoman Empire, via Gīlān, the Caspian, Astrakhan, the Volga, and Nijni-Novgorod, arriving at Moscow six months after their departure from Ispahān. Anthony had great trouble with Friar Nicholas and according to one writer attempted, on one occasion, to drown him in the Volga! Anthony himself was badly treated and, while in Moscow, was apparently kept more or less a prisoner by Boris Gudonov. However, a formal inquiry (in the course of which Anthony boxed the Friar's ears) resulted in Anthony

[1] *Sir Anthony Sherley and his Persian Adventure*, Routledge, 1933.

being better treated, while the Friar was imprisoned and eventually put to death.

The party then proceeded to Archangel, and after a stormy voyage in the North Sea put into Stade in the estuary of the Elbe, whence they proceeded to Emden on the Weser, which they reached some time in August and where they were lavishly entertained by the Landgrave Maurice of Hesse-Cassel. The embassy then passed on and arrived at Prague on 11th October, where they had a great welcome and were granted an audience by the Emperor Rudolph II. They eventually left Prague on 5th February, 1601, on their way to Rome. Throughout the journey from Ispahān Anthony and the Persian Ambassador had disputed as to their precedence, and at Siena a fresh quarrel arose, as a result of which they were granted separate audiences by the Pope, Clement VIII.

Anthony, however, abandoned the embassy and for reasons which are somewhat obscure, fled to Venice at the end of July. In Venice he became involved in intrigues against his Sovereign and was ultimately arrested and imprisoned on 24th March, 1603, to be released on 11th May, after the accession of James I. Anthony was now without employment. He stayed in Venice for several months, during which time he did his best to restore himself to favour in England by reporting Jesuit plots against the English throne, but he never returned to his own country. At the end of the year, for reasons unknown, he was ordered to leave the Venetian State on pain of death.

In 1604 Anthony was in Ferrara, and later in Messina, living as a pensioner of the King of Spain. In June, 1605, he was invited by Rudolph II to go to Prague, and in the autumn of that year was employed by the Emperor on a mission to Morocco, with the object of upholding the Sa'dian Sharīf against his brothers and of driving the Turks out of Algiers and Tunis. He was obliged, on account of a terrific storm, to disembark at Alicante and travelled through Spain via Madrid to Cadiz, whence he sailed. But he then met with

an even greater storm, and eventually arrived in Saffi on 2nd October. He apparently spent nine months in Morocco, during which time he accomplished very little beyond gaining a somewhat doubtful reputation on account of his luxurious way of living and lavish hospitality. Anthony next proceeded to Lisbon, which he reached in September, 1606, in order to collect the repayment of two Portuguese prisoners whom he had ransomed in Marrakesh. These ungrateful gentlemen, however, not only refused to pay, but, as Anthony wrote: "persecute me as much as they dare and can, with all the vile usage that can be devised." Anthony thereupon crossed into Spain to lay his complaint before Philip III, and apparently so ingratiated himself with the King that in March, 1607, he was made General of the Mediterranean Seas, and left for Naples to take up his duties in May of that year, leaving behind, as was his custom, innumerable debts.

Needless to say, Anthony was no more successful as an Admiral than as an Ambassador, and in 1610 he was deprived of his commission. From this date till his death, in or about 1636, he remained a pensioner of the King of Spain, and was continually involved in one wild scheme after the other. In 1611 his brother Robert visited Spain in the role of Persian Ambassador and Anthony, disliking his brother's negotiations with England, was party to a shameful plot to prevent his leaving Spain. The plot failed, however, and Robert left in June, taking with him, incidentally, the manuscript of Anthony's *Relation*. In 1617 Robert again came to Spain as Persian Ambassador, and stayed for five years. Anthony at this time was very poor, since most of his small pension was appropriated in order to go towards the paying of his debts, but he had apparently not given up hope of one day being employed in one or other of his schemes. He was on bad terms with his brother, to whom he must have been a great embarrassment. There are two political treatises in Spanish written by him, one in 1622 and the other in 1625, which go to show that he must have taken great pains in order to

ingratiate himself with the State. The last reference to him we know of states briefly that in 1636 he was living in Spain in the seclusion of private life: he was at this time 71, and it is probable that the career of this remarkable man was brought to a close soon after that date.

J.

The Houston Flights over Mount Everest

On 8th March, 1934, Colonel Stewart Blacker gave a lecture before the Society on the Flights over Mount Everest and the surrounding massifs carried out by the Houston-Everest Expedition.

The technical difficulties, which had to be overcome to enable a pilot and an observer with cameras to function efficiently at 33,000 feet above mean sea-level, were vast and various: the observer must be entirely enclosed and both must be suitably warmed to protect them against the terrible cold and provided with heated oxygen sets to counteract the rarified atmosphere, while the whole photographic outfit had also to be warmed specially in order to keep the parts from being sealed up with ice. For celluloid film, if frozen, becomes brittle and flies to pieces when bent. Even the spare magazines for the cameras had to be electrically heated. Unless the oxygen sets were warmed, the gas would freeze solid in the tiny supply orifices and the crew would lose consciousness in a few seconds. To produce these heating arrangements a dynamo was necessary and it had to be driven by a gearing from the engine as the usual windmill method was impossible at those altitudes. Battery accumulators, too, have a way of giving no current in great cold, so special arrangements had to be made to warm them also. To heat the thick clothes of the crews, the current had to go through two heated suits, two pairs of boots and gloves, and even through both pairs of goggles.

At first sight this height of 33,000 feet would seem to afford a fair margin above the summit. Closer investigation indicated that, to combat certain likely conditions of the atmosphere

round the peaks, it would be imperative to allow another 2,000 feet. These adverse conditions might prevail owing to temporarily thin and tenuous air and the powerful overfall or downdraft of wind on the leeward side of the summit.

After the careful packing up, the journey, and subsequent unpacking and assembling of the multitudinous machines and parts, the first misfortune was sustained at Allahabad. A sudden storm arose during the night and wind travelling at 80 m.p.h. tore down trees and buildings and plunged the city in darkness. We found that the graceful aeroplane had been lifted bodily high into the air, despite its thick mooring ropes and huge concrete mooring blocks, and returned to the earth a crumpled wreck. All the difficulties of preparation, however, were overcome thanks to the generosity of Lady Houston.

At the first trial flight at 33,000 feet the heating in some of the suits was found to be too great. This was due to the fact that the upper air at Karachi is some 20 degrees centigrade warmer than in England during the previous month, which was contrary to expectation. A meteorological bureau was arranged to give us two reports daily, the information from Purnea and Darjeeling was collated at Calcutta and the results were efficient and accurate. It was noticed with a certain amount of alarm that the wind velocities at a height of about 25,000 feet were of the nature of some 70 m.p.h.

When all was ready even to an advance landing ground in case of accidents, we had to wait on the weather. If the wind speed seemed promising, the mountains would be covered with cloud--a circumstance naturally fatal to photography. We could not even afford to have the valleys in the southern slopes of the mountain cloud-filled, because this would cause a gap in the continuity of the all-important strip of air-survey photographs, which were the essence of the expedition's work. As the cloud caps melt away and the tops begin to stand out clearly, the wind speed invariably seems to rise. Every morning one of the " Moths " went up to a few thousand feet.

At this height the three great mountains, Kinchinjunga, Everest, and Mākalū were always clearly visible and it could be seen to what extent they were free of cloud.

One memorable Friday and Saturday it was noticed that, though the wind reports still gave high figures, the velocities were diminishing. On Sunday the speeds had lessened considerably. We could scarcely sleep for anxiety The evening telegram foretold a still further drop. Would it be borne out in the morning? Would the clouds have gathered or would the winds begin to increase again? We decided that we must take the risk of flying in a much higher wind than we had originally contemplated and just watch the fuel consumption very carefully.

Then came Monday and the astrologers declared it to be an auspicious day. The "Moth" reported the mountain to be crystal clear. The wind was only 57 m.p.h. at our flying height. So the long waited for moment had come and we were up. I found myself in an ecstacy: it was like going "over the top". When I came to myself I busied myself with the voltmeter, the heating arrangements, and all the other necessary gadgets for enabling us to carry out our objective.

Now there was leisure to look about. In front was the Māhabhārat Range, flanking the frontier of Nepāl. Behind was our supporting aeroplane, seemingly motionless against the blue. Suddenly, 80 miles to the east we saw a tiny, snowy crest above the purple horizon: Kinchinjunga with her cloud veil flowing from her crest. A moment later Everest herself, flanked by the snowy pyramid of Mākalū. I worked hard with slide, shutter, and exposure lever to record their beauties. Meanwhile the big vertical camera was working steadily by itself. Soon other more distant peaks peeped over the shoulder of Everest. By some trick of vision they seemed even higher than the great mountain itself.

Then we were flying above and along the crest of the Chamlang Ridge, which runs almost up to the mountain

from the south, and the altimeter registered 32,000 feet. But as we passed over the end of the ridge I felt the aeroplane sink rapidly beneath my feet. We had lost a good many hundred feet in a few seconds. Happily our good engine made up for the loss. Towering before us were Lhŏtse and unconquered Everest, so immense in front of us that it seemed that we could scarcely clear the summit. Up and on we went and then the amazing, immaculate crest flashed past below us. I looked through the open floor and saw what no man had seen since time began. I was spellbound till another great overfall of winds seized the machine, which swooped down 1,500 or 2,000 feet in a second or two. The pilot turned her at once into the wind and for some time we battled against the icy blast and the downfall combined till we gradually made height again and returned to our course.

As we came over the topmost peak we passed through the famous plume, that awesome, miles-long white streamer which men see and marvel at 200 miles away. Huge flakes of ice rattled round the cockpit with such force as to break one of its windows. The pilot turned our machine in big curves so that I could take a rapid succession of oblique pictures of those stupendous ice-cliffs. Then we came over the white pyramid of Mākalū, which is joined to Everest by that grim knife-edge.

One or two more turns and we were forced to turn back, since we dared not burn too much fuel on the outward journey. Our minds were still amazed by the vision we had looked on when we landed at Lalbalu, where our joy at our wonderful good fortune was marred by a piece of bad luck. It was found that dust and haze had obscured the lower hills and that, instead of the complete and perfect overlapping strips which our vertical camera should have produced, the results were scrappy and disjointed. However, thirty-five of the oblique pictures had turned out admirably. One showed the very crest itself a few hundred feet away as we swooped down over it. But we felt that it was imperative at all risks to make

another attempt to secure that which was waited for by the scientific world.

This second attempt, albeit in the face of a 110 m.p.h. wind, found the fates propitious, as the wind stream, though terrific, was steady. The machine circled serenely and I photographed incessantly, striving to remember the gaps of the first flight and make them good.

When we returned the second time we spent an anxious hour while the films and photographs were developed and then we found that the cameras were victorious and Mount Everest had capitulated to the assaults of science and ingenuity.

Notices

THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY

We have to record, with regret, that the well-known journal of Oriental research, the *Indian Antiquary*, has ceased publication with effect from December last.

The *Indian Antiquary* was started in January, 1872, as a monthly journal of Oriental research of comprehensive scope by the late Dr. J. Burgess at his own risk. Under his able editorship and helped by contributions from a brilliant band of Oriental scholars, among whom may be mentioned G. Bühler, J. F. Fleet, E. Hultzsch, F. Kielhorn, Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, Bhagavanlal Indraji, Sir G. A. Grierson, Sir A. Cunningham, J. Muir, A. F. R. Hoernle, Sir H. Yule, and J. W. McCrindle, it rapidly became the premier research journal in India. Owing to failing eyesight, Dr. Burgess had to give up the work, and in 1885 it was taken over by Dr. J. F. Fleet and Sir R. C. (then Captain R. C.) Temple, Bt. On the retirement of Dr. Fleet in 1892, Sir R. C. Temple carried on the journal as sole proprietor and editor until 1924, when he formed a company (the *Indian Antiquary*, Ltd.) and entered into an agreement with the Royal Anthropological Institute, by which the latter assumed responsibility for the journal on certain terms.

From 1911 onwards Sir R. Temple was assisted by joint editors, namely, Professor D. R. Bhandarkar (1911–1922 and 1928–1933), Mr. S. M. Edwardes (1923–6), Professor S. K. Aiyangar (1923–1933), and Mr. C. E. A. W. Oldham (1927–1933), who took the place of Sir R. Temple when the latter died in March, 1931.

Sir R. C. Temple had been associated with the journal for fifty-two years, for forty-six of which, as proprietor and chief editor, he devoted himself (and his purse) whole-heartedly and untiringly to its interests.

The sixty-two volumes of the *Indian Antiquary* are a storehouse of important research work in all branches of Oriental study, more especially in the subjects of epigraphy, archæology, numismatics, history and historical geography, folklore, and comparative religion, the papers having been contributed by many of the most eminent authorities in these subjects. Particular mention should be made of the invaluable epigraphical material published by it for many years, from the pens of the greatest Oriental epigraphists (among those named above), which may be said to have laid a solid foundation for the systematic and scientific reproduction of these precious records on stone and copper.

For several years it was almost the sole medium in India for the publication of these epigraphs, till in 1888 the Government of India resolved to reproduce the inscriptions under their own official agency.

In 1892 an agreement was made under which the Government journal, *Epigraphia Indica*, was published on the basis established by the *Indian Antiquary* as an official quarterly supplement to that journal. This arrangement lasted until 1920, since when the *Epigraphia Indica* has been published separately under the editorship of the Government Epigraphist, subordinate to the Imperial Archæological Department. The withdrawal of this epigraphical matter was a serious blow to the journal.

In addition to this loss, the changed conditions in India,

combined with the foundation of other journals devoted to the same or similar subjects, a large number of which have been started in different Provinces and States during the last two decades, had been steadily weakening the financial position of the journal.

The economic depression and the necessity for retrenchment imposed upon institutions and individuals involved further falling off in subscriptions, and the outlook became so unfavourable that in 1932 the R.A. Institute decided to terminate the agreement under which it had financial responsibility. In order to work off all matter accepted for print, this responsibility was undertaken by Mr. Oldham for one year longer (1933), when the Company was regretfully compelled to close down publication of the journal.

A leaflet regarding the volumes still available is inserted in this issue.

Attention is drawn to Rule 97, concerning the borrowing of books from the Library for the purposes other than review: " In no case shall a book be retained for a longer period than six months." Members desiring the use of books for a longer period must return them to the Librarian for examination at the expiration of that time with a suitable request. Should the book not be required it will be returned to the holder.

The annual List of Members will be published in the JOURNAL for July. Members who wish to make any alterations in name, style, or address, must send the fully-corrected entry so as to reach the Secretary by 1st June.

The quarterly numbers of the JOURNAL are forwarded to subscribers about 11th January, April, July, and October respectively. Should a volume not be received within a reasonable time after the prescribed date, notification should

be sent to the Secretary as early as possible, but, at any rate, by the end of the quarter concerned. Should such notice not be received by the Secretary within six months of the first day of the quarter for which the volume has been issued, the onus cannot be admitted, and the volume cannot be replaced free of charge.

In accordance with Rule 93, the Library will be closed for cleaning and repairs throughout the month of August.

Authors of articles in the JOURNAL who desire more than the twenty off-prints which are supplied gratis, are requested to apply to the Secretary before publication. The cost of the extra copies varies in accordance with the length of the article and in the number of plates.

National Appeal for the Purchase of the Sinai Manuscript of the Bible for the British Museum

THE support of all who are interested in the establishment of the correct text of the Bible is invoked by the Trustees of the British Museum, who have the opportunity of purchasing for the National Collection, the famous manuscript known as the *Codex Sinaiticus.*

Written in the fourth century after Christ this is one of two oldest MSS. of the text of the old and New Testaments, the other being in the Vatican. Apart from its historic interest, it is one of the most wonderful monuments of the art of writing that have come down to us.

In the eyes of all competent judges, the genuineness of this MS. is beyond suspicion, and the doubt which has been suggested as to the title of the vendors is also without foundation. The price agreed upon is less than half what was originally asked and less than that paid for a single Renaissance picture.

It is unnecessary to point out the desirability of acquiring this MS. which is now on view at the British Museum. Pictorial Cards (2d. each), full size facsimiles of an opening (1s. each), and a descriptive pamphlet with three illustrations (6d. each) can be obtained from the Museum.

The Trustees appeal to the generosity of the Public and will welcome and duly acknowledge any contributions, however small, which should be sent as soon as possible to The Director, British Museum, London, W.C. 1.

A convenient form to accompany any donation is printed below.

....1934.

To the Director, British Museum, London, W.C. 1.

To the Westminster Bank, Ltd., 214 *High Holborn, London, W.C.* 1.

(Cross out whichever of these addresses is not used.)

I enclose the sum of....................*towards the purchase for the British Museum of the Sinai Bible Manuscript.*

....*Signature and title.*

(in block letters)

.... *Address.*

....

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Annals of Archæology and Anthropology. Vol. xx, Nos. 1–4, November, 1933.

Garstang, J. Jericho: City and Necropolis. (With Plates i–xxxiv.)
Brown, T. B. Anatolian Relations with the Aegean before 2400 B.C.
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Bailey, H. W. Iranian Studies—III.
Ross, E. Denison. A letter from James I to the Sultan Aḥmad.
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Jayaswal, K. P. Proclamation of Aśoka as a Buddhist, and his Jambudvîpa.

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